

Syn. & 63.72

Unhappy Prosperity.

Expressed in the History of  
ÆLIUS SEIANUS,  
And

PHILIPPA the Casanian.  
With  
Observations upon the fall of  
SEJANVS.

Lastly,  
Certain Considerations upon the  
Life and Services of Monsieur  
VILLEROY.

Translated out of the Originals  
By Sr. T. H.

Second Edition.

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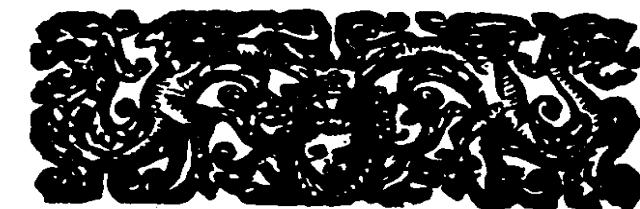
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TO  
The right Honoura-  
ble, VVILLIAM, Earle  
of *Salisbury*, Vicount *Cran-  
borne*, Baron *Cecil* of *Effen-  
don*, Knight of the Noble  
Order of the Garter, and  
one of his Majesties most  
Honourable Privie  
Councell.

Right Honourable,

B Ehold *Seia-  
nus* of *Vul-  
finium*, and  
*Philippa* the  
A 3. Ca-

*The Epistle*

Catanian : Prodigious Examples of Ambition in either Sex: Both which having with great applause been already presented in France, by the elegant and curious Mabieu, clad in the rich robes of his purer language, appeare now in the poor habit of an English stile. Notwithstanding , encouraged by your Lordships particular affection to this choice Pece in the Originall, and obliged for noble favours conferred on some

*Dedicatory.*

some neare unto mee; I adventurously presume on this present addresse to your Honour; who I doubt not will as freely patronize this slender endeavour of a weak hand, as the more polished labours of a powerful pen. The matters herein treated are important, the Observations prudent, Maximes of State usefull, and Sentences weighty, and had not our Author with Posterity suffered in the much deplored

*The Epistle*

losse of some part of Tacitus his Annals, there could not have beeene a worke more amply, and politely furnished out, to satisfie either the most judicious, or curious. His defects from that maine are unavoydable; mine pregnant, and (I feare) inexcusable. It rests in your Lordships excellent Nature, as with Justice to apologize for the first, so with favour sweetly to dissemble the imperfections of the latter, whilst

I

*Dedicatory.*

I with due acknowledg-  
ment of much Obligati-  
on, shall to your Honeur  
seriously devote the ever  
ready services of

Tb. Hawkins.



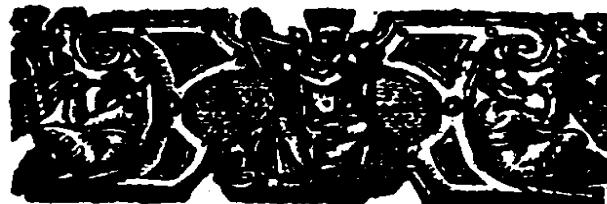
## To the King.

SIR,

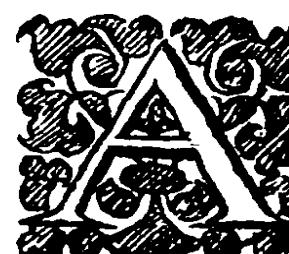
 H<sub>e</sub> Capitol began and the Louvre bath revived this History, which I present to your Maiesly, amidst publicke applauses for the happiness of your Monarchy. It is a Mirrour that flatteth not, but rather a pure and Chrystalline water, which

which, at the same instant it sheweth the staine, taketh it away. You (Sir) shall therin behold, that a Prince ought to be very carefull to conserve his Authority entire: Great ones here may learne, it is not good to play with the generous Lyon, though he suffer it, and that favours are precipices for such, as abuse them.

P. Mathieu.



## V N H A P P Y P R O S P E R I T Y.



Lthough Princes doe soveraignely dispose of their own harts; im-  
pressing love, and hatred on whom, or how they list, yet ought we to wish their affections towards particular men may be very just, and regular; for if any disorder hap-  
pen therin, it introduceth publicke ruines, rendreth them odious, and their Favourites mis-  
erable: When the Play is end-  
ed, the high heeld Buskins are taken off, which raised them a-

B above

The heart  
of a Prince  
is free, and  
only depē-  
deth on  
God.

*Excalcan-  
ter, & ad  
 Naturam  
 suam refe-  
unt. Sen.*

## First Historie.

bove the rest, they are dispoyled the gawdy garments of the personage represented, they returne to their first forme, and teach us wee should not measure the Statue by the Columne which supporteth it, nor judge of a man by his dignitie, or fortune.

The Heavens incensed against the Roman Empire, permitted this exorbitancie in the soule of *Tiberius*, through the excesse of favour he conferred on *Sejanus*, uniting in his person those charges, which ought to have been distributed amongst many, & making him so great, that hee had much adoe to unmake him. In the end, the ruine of the State, which was the foundation of his greatness, was also the cause of his fall. Hee was the sonne of *Seius Strabo*, a Roman Knight, borne at *Vulsinum* in the Countrey of *Tuscanie*; in his youth he served *Caius Caesar*

*Magnus videtur? I-*  
*lum cum sua basi me-*  
*tum. Sen.*

*Principum*  
*scimus Diu-*  
*ira in R.P.*  
*varis arti-*  
*bus videntur.* Tac.

*Par ecclio*  
*viguit o-*  
*ctus. Tac.*

*Si Nuria*  
*Tibulo fa-*  
*visit.*

## Vnhappie Presperitic.

*Cesar*, Nephew of *Augustus*; and was an associate in the execrable riots of *Apicius* the rich Prodigall, hat famous Glutton, who having wasted his owne estate, and finding upon an accompt there remained no more than 200000 Crowns unspent, thought himself poor, and that this would not suffice to continue his intemperance: of which he had so deep an apprehension, that death seemed to him more tolerable than want, and so dranke downe a glasse of poyson: Never tasted he a bitter draught than this last, which stayed the impetuous violence of his dissolutions.

*Sejanus* having acquired some reputation in the profession of Armes, his father *Strabo* presenteth him to *Tiberius*, entreating hee would be pleased hee might accompany him in his charge of Coronell of the Peitorian Guards, from which

The Kit-  
chen of  
*Apicius*  
devoured  
more than  
two milli-  
ons of  
gold. H.C.  
*It is in*  
*a man's*  
*power*.

*Ubi tam*  
*recesserat?*  
*Primum*  
*ultima post,*  
*namque*  
*fuit. Sen.*

time the Prince began to take delight in his vigilance and vivacitie, with confidence that this man would one day with his manage, prove an instrument capable of any thing.

Hee followeth the Prince *Druſus*, whom the Emperour had constituted Generall of his Armie, to reduce under obedience, those who were revolted in Austria and Hungaria. This was the first testimony of the affection of *Tiberius*, who made choice of him to direct the youth of this Prince, and to give example of merit to others to arrive at recompence, and of worth to attempt things perilous.

Hee found out the humour of *Tiberius*, and so absolutely conformed his own therunto, that it seemed both their hearts had one and the same motion. This conformity entertaineth affection, and from affection so entire

*Reſtor fu-  
ueni, &  
cereis pe-  
niciſlorum  
premo-  
rūnque  
oſtentacior.*

*Tiberium  
oſſcurum  
aduerium  
aliſ ſibi  
uni incanit  
intellamq;  
effici.*

tire a confidence ariseth that *Tiberius* trusting no man, doubted nothing in *Sejanus*, held nothing hidden, or concealed from him, yet never free from ſuspition of others.

Favour attracteth all hearts, and all eyes wait on this new light. The Senate communicateth with him their most important affairs, and receive directions from his lips. In every place troops of Visitants are ſeen, who ſeek to him, or attend to offer him ſervice: Great ones account his commands, as honours; if he ſpeake to them, hee obligeth them; if hee cast an eye on them, they are pleased: They wait in the morning at his chamber doore, they are ready at his up-rising and down-lying, others ſwallow up the affronts put upon them by the Porter, whom they bribe with gifts, that they may gain the firſt opening or admiſſion: And when they preſent

B . 3      them-

*Turba ſuſ-  
tatrix.  
There  
were three  
admiſſions  
to court  
him in the  
morning.  
Such an  
one wa-  
ited all  
night  
to have  
the firſt  
admiſſion.  
*Duras fo-  
res expers  
ſomni colit.  
Sen.**

*Loyalist  
et valer-  
titer, off-  
ficer, ad-  
minister.  
Cic.*

*recte-  
tatem  
et no-  
tum con-  
ducere es-  
cendum.  
Tac.*

*Palam co-  
pissus pa-  
der, intus  
summa adi-  
piscendi li-  
bido. Tac.*

themselves before this Idoll whom they adore, it is but the better to counterfeit words of admiration to applaud him, or slavery to flatter him. To speake acceptably to a great man, to consent to whatsover hee saith, to admire all he doth, to approve all hee desireth, are the principall pieces of Complacence, and ever admiration excuteth much of the office of flattery.

Hee was desirous his power being upon the first birth therof to have men beleive, it was supported with a firme resolution of the advancement of the Princes service, & the good of the State, and that nothing but justice should be seene in his actions, prudence in his counsels, and modestie in his fortune. He outwardly exercised moderation, inwardly ambition; but it was discovered in his expences and profusions, in the magnificence of his housshould furnitures and pictures;

stures; in the prodigalitie of his feasts, sumptuous as sacrifices; in the beauty of his buildings, gilded like Temples. Hee seriously industrious, and vigilant, had a spirit prompt to discover others, and to take all sorts of formes, accomodating himself (according to occasion) either to simplicitie, or pride.

He being sole Captaine of the Pretorian Guards, lodged them in a part of the Citie, where in time of occasion hee might have them ready for his dispose; telling *Tiberius*, that Souldiers dispersed lived without discipline, and that seeing themselves daily to be assembled in one place together, number would beget confidence among them, and terrorre with others; and, that distance from riots of the Citie, would the better keepe them in obedience.

This agreed unto, and their lodgings appointed, hee began

B 4 by

*Industria ac  
vigilantia  
honestinus  
noxiæ, qui-  
res spuma de  
regno fin-  
gatur.  
Tac.*

*Lascivis  
miles diu-  
llus. Tac.*

*Fiducia ip-  
sis, in cete-  
ros metu.  
Tac.*

*Vallum  
statuerat  
proud urbis  
aerebris.*

*Neque am-  
biens Sena-  
torio atq[ue] fi-  
nibus eiem-  
ter suos ho-  
noribus que  
provincias  
ornando.*

Tac.

Favour  
changeth  
requests  
into thaks.

by little and little to infuse love, and a good opinion of himselfe into their hearts, visiting the Souldiers in their Court of Guards, calling them by their severall names, endearing the Captains and Tribunes, entertaining the one with hopes, the other with gifts, and all of them with good words, which must never be wanting.

To fortifie his faction the more, he addressed his practices and intelligences, to make himself great in the Senate, procureth his friends might be furnished with commissions, and honoured with charges and offices; supposing it was not sufficient to have authority among Souldiers, if credit & respect failed him among Judges and Orators, that had reputation with the people.

In all his Designes, he found so much facility and affection in Tiberius, that he had little else to do, but to aske, and give thanks:

He

He denied him nothing, oft times preventing his suits, and protest- ing he deserved much more; calling him not onely in his Cabinet, but even in full Senate, the Companion of his labours, and commanding his Statue should be raised in publique passages, reverenced in Theaters, and borne in the front of the Legions. It was to destroy his owne service, to court his servant: For it cannot do well, when once the people shall perceive, that favour transferreth the soveraigne honours of the Superior, to the Inferior; and that a Prince admitteth a Companion to assist him in Empire. Hercules was willing Atlas should aid him, but it must be acknowledged, Olympus standeth more firmly on his shoulders, than on any others.

*The sway of a Kingdome cannot in the same instant be divided be-  
tween two.*

He disposeth all the actions of

B. 5. 7 i-

*Sesanus so-  
cius labo[n]is  
Tibe: ii.*

*Tac.  
Effigies per  
theatra, fo-  
ra, & inter  
principia  
legionum.  
Tac.*

*Firminus  
Hercules  
cu[m] cer-  
vice pepe-  
dit.Claud.*

*Non capit  
regnum  
d[omi]n[u]s.Sen.*

## First Historie.

*Tiberius* to rigour and severitie; to the end he might lose the love of the people, who will not wish well to him, who doth nothing but ill for them. He had not much difficulty to perwade him to cruelty: All his inclinations tended that way; For in his first youth, *Theodorus* his Tutor in Rhetorique, called him, *Dart mingled with blond*; so that hee had nought else to doe, but to finde, and seeke out occasion to excite his anger, which never was appeased without a sacrifice.

That  
which a  
Prince  
doth for  
favour,  
ought to  
have mer-  
it, at least  
in appear-  
ance.

All honours and dignities were conferred by the recommendation of *Sejanus*. It was sufficient proof of merit, to allege his alliance, and protest his favour, and yet was *Tiberius* willing it shoulde be thought, he considered more the one than the other, to avoid blame; so taking from Virtue to give to Fortune: Hee had nominated two Proconsuls of Af-

rique,

## Unhappie Prosperitie.

frique, *Lepidus* and *Blesus*, and that hee might free himself from the ill opinion of him who should be excluded, hee referred to the Senate the election of the most capable. The one was a man of singular worth, the other Uncle of *Sejanus*, and for this cause confident to carry it. *Lepidus* loth to enter into competition with one much more favored & powerful, excused it upon his own indisposition, the minoritie of his children, and that he had a daughter marriageable; the Senate takes him at his word, following the blast of favour: *Blesus* made semblance of refusall of this charge, and all the flatterers loudly cry out, none but himself deserved it. The same favour that had raised him, maintained him, and dignified his most inferiour services, with amplest recompences. After he had, not discomfited, but rather skirmished against the forces of *Tacfarinas*,

*Tibe-*  
It is a  
great im-  
prudence  
to argue  
upon a  
charge a-  
gainst the  
one are  
supported  
by power-  
ful favour.

*Ad consu-  
letum non  
mis per Sc-  
janum adi-  
ctus, neque  
Sejanus vo-  
lens nisi  
scire que-  
rebar.*

Tac.

*ut quinque  
Sejanus ini-  
mis, ita ad  
Cesaris am-  
cissam va-  
lidam: contra  
quibus in-  
fensus sis-  
musa, &  
sediles  
confida-  
bantur.  
Tac.*

*Tiberius*, commandeth the Legions to salute him as Emperour, ordaineth triumphs for him, which onely appertained to an absolute victorie, and in all things declarereth it was for the love of his Nephew *Sejanus*. Whosoeuer had *Sejanus* for Protector, needed not to seek out honours; Hee that found him an enemy, languished in neglect and misery. No honour was had without his favour, nor could it with innocencie, and worth be acquired. Hee made *Iunius Otho* to come into the Senate, who never professed ought, but to teach as a Schoolmaster. Hee used him as his instrument to ruine *C. Silius* Proconsul of Asia, he accuseth him of extortion, and that in execution of his charge, hee was rather swayed by money than justice. This was somewhat, but other inquisitions were therunto added, from which the most innocent hardly could dis-involve them-

themselves. They opposed against him the most eminent orators of Asia, wheras hee was not assisted by any, nor had been accustomed to speak in publique; and Fear, which troubleth the best Speakers, and most confident eloquence, put his discourse into disorder.

*Tiberius* pressed him so potently, both with voice and gesture, and by demands so strong and powerfull, that hee was (as it were) amazed, not daring to reject, that hee might not incense, and saw himself inforced to confess, that the interrogation might not be rendred fruitlesse. What a misery is this? The awe of the Prince obligeth the accused to betray his owne innocencie.

Amongst the numbers of those accusers, *Iunius Otho* a creature of *Sejanus* was one of the most passionate: for at his first entrance into the rank of Senators, hee sought out occasions to advance

*Proprius  
metus ex-  
ercitum  
quoque elo-  
quentiam  
debitat.  
Tac,*

*Sepetiam  
confin-  
dum erat,  
ne frustra  
quesivisset.  
Tac,*

*Obscura  
initia im-  
pudentibus  
ausis pro-  
polluebat.  
Tac.*

vance the obscurity of his beginnings by the impudencie and shamelesse boldnesse of his counsels, using the most audacious ways for the most whollome.

*Exusatus  
acopiatur  
que fuisse  
suo exemplum.* Tac.

*Silanus* had more minde to have recourse to *Tiberius* clemency, than to confide in his own defence, hee therefore presented a petition to move him: But *Tiberius* desirous to destroy him, sheweth, that hee in this accusation sought nothing but the intentions of Lawes. And because, that, which is done by president carrieth excuse with it, hee causeth a decree to be produced out of the Registers, given under *Augustus*, ag. iust *Polesus Messalla*, who had also been Proconsull of Asia: but if the qualities were alike, the lives and offices were wholly different: the one cruell, the other covetous; for this man most inhumane, walking in the Market place, where he one day had

had caused three hundred heads to be strucke off, termed it a royll act, and of much magnificence.

*Orem re-  
giam. Sen.*

It then comming to voices for a definitive sentence, *Lucius Piso* having cast out some specious words in commendation of the Emperours clemency, was of opinion, *Silanus* should be interdicted fire and water, and banished into the Iland of *Gyara*. This his Counsell was approved by others, *Lentulus* addeth, the goods of the mother should be left to the Sonne, and *Tiberius* approves it. But *Cornelius Dolabella*, extending his flattery much farther, & sharply reprehending the actions of *Silanus*, saith, that hereafter the government of Provinces should be given only to such as were free from reproach, and of sound reputation in the Emperours Judgement: for although laws were only ordained to punish crimes committed,

To praise  
clemency,  
and con-  
clude epo-  
rigour.

*Anteire ce-  
seros parat,  
ab'urdum,  
in adulati-  
onem pro-  
gressus.*

Tac.

*Zenibus de-  
lictis puniun-  
tur quanto  
melius pro-  
viderine  
peccarecur.*

Tac.

Zoquax, &  
ingeniosa  
incontum-  
ciam prese-  
ctorum :  
provincia  
in qua qui  
vitavit  
culpam non  
effugie infamia. Sen.  
Non ex ru-  
more statu-  
endum.  
Affaires  
make men  
Quidam ad  
meliora ex-  
citantur  
magnitudi-

ted, yet it was undoubted, if mil-  
governement in the Magistrate  
were prevented, great benefit  
would redound both to those  
who were honoured with such  
charges, and to such as should  
be subject to their commands :  
for the one might conserue their  
innocency, the other their peace.  
Tiberius hereupon framed a dis-  
course worthy of the widsome,  
and reputation hee had among  
people, who are over-forward  
to applaud the actions of Magi-  
strates, as was then said of Egypt,  
that it super-abounded in prat-  
ling, and artificies to calumniate  
Governours, and that many, so  
they might escape punishment,  
cared not to free themselves  
from infamy; Hee spake therfore  
in this manner.

I am not ignorant of what hath  
been published against Silanus, but  
wee ought not to resolve on any  
thing upon common bruit. Many  
have born themselves in their pro-  
vinces,

ne rerum,  
bebescunt  
aliu. Tac.

vinces, much otherwise than was  
either hoped, or feared: For the  
greatnesse, and difficultie, of affaires  
presented, raiseth courage in some,  
dulls and debaseth it in others.  
Then insomuch as the knowledge  
of the Prince, cannot extend it  
selfe to all, nor ought to be diver-  
ted by the ambition of any, Lawes  
are ordained for things alrea the  
future being most uncertain. For  
which cause our Predecessors have  
decreed, that the crime goingbe-  
fore, the penalty should follow:  
you ought not to alter, that, which  
having beene once wifely estab-  
lished, hath ever beeene approved.

The Provinces are surcharged  
with too many affaires; They have  
sufficient authority, Right isles-  
sened, when power is augmented,  
and it is unfit to exercise command  
in matters, where Lawes have  
provided.

This discourse was applauded,  
and the place of banishment  
changed to Cythara, Gyara being  
too

Leges in  
facto con-  
stituta,  
qua futura  
in incerto  
sunt. Tac.

Sepienter  
reputa, &  
temper pla-  
cata non  
varienda.  
Tac.

Noa uten-  
dam impe-  
rio, ubi legi-  
bus ali po-  
test. Tac.

*Prudens  
moderandi  
animum, si  
propria ira  
non imfel-  
litur.* Tac.

*Insula Gya-  
ra immis-  
& sine cul-  
tu bonitatem.* Tac.

*Qui dabat  
olita Impe-  
rium, f. scilicet  
legiones,  
&c.* Tac.

*Duas tare-  
rummodo  
res anxiis  
optat, pan-  
num, &  
Circenies*  
Juven.

*Pompeys  
Theater  
was dedi-*

too rude and savage. *Tiberius* shewed hee was able to temper his spirit, vhen hee was not moved with anger.

*Sejanus* alone disposed of the Offices and Commissions. The people no more entermedled with the choice of Senators, nor any bngger made sale of Suffages and voices, and for the right they heliover the election of Magistrates, Senate, and Legions, they contented themselves with shewes, sports of the Cirque, and ivery garments. There was not then a man alive, who had seene the Republique, the marks of ancient liberty being wholly defaced.

The greatest ornament of the City of Roine was *Pompeys* Theater, which was of such capacity, that it was able to accommodate 4000 men with seats. Fire casually happening therein, *Sejanus* quenched it, and hindered the mischief of this accident from

from proceeding any further. *Tiberius* purposing to re-edifie it again, in full Senate commended the diligence and vigilance of *Sejanus*: the Senatours to please him, decreed his Statue should be erected neer the Theater.

But as Princes doe nothing withoutome particular end, *Tiberius* in favouring *Sejanus* had one designe, and *Sejanus* in serving *Tiberius* proposed to himself another. No affection, nor fidelity cometh gratis. *Tiberius* was desirous the love hee bare to *Sejanus* might oblige him to serve him without condition, to secure therby his authority; and *Sejanus* in serving the Emperour aspired to the Empire, yet willing to hide his own ambition. It was not affection in *Tiberius*, but rather necessity: for hee was desirous to make use of the wilts, and policies of *Sejanus*, to ruine the house of *Germanicus*, and advance his owne, and *Sejanus* purposed to

ated to  
*Venus*, it  
was a Te-  
ple and a  
Bourdell.  
*A ex omnium  
curpi undi-  
cum.* Tert.  
*Labore &  
diligentia  
magna vis  
intra unum  
damnum si-  
stitur.* Tac.  
As the  
Prince lo-  
reth not,  
so hee is  
not served  
but for  
ends.  
*Non iam  
beni vultu-  
ris proce-  
xit, q. à ut  
effec cuius  
ministerio  
ac fraudi-  
bus liberos,  
Germanici circum-  
venires.*  
Suet.

to climbe to the Imperial throne by the fall of both. His power was not so swift, as his will, which met with many mayn obstacles: For the stocke of *Cesars* was yet whole and entire, the sonne young, the Nephews men grown: It was not in his power to ruine so many at once: For mischiefe required there shoulde be distance, betweene each terrible counterbuffs, and that he practise the death of *Drusus* the son of *Tiberius*, at the same time that *Tiberius* meant to murther *Germanicus*: For the heart more apprehenderith perils farther off, than the present. *Tiberius* saw nothing which made him jealous, but the brother, nor any thing put feare upon *Sejanus* ambition, but the sonne.

The worst counsell hee gave him, was to alter what *Augustus* had decreed, and hate what hee loved: For the extreme malice he bare against the house of *Germanicus*,

*Dela in-  
tervalla  
scelerum  
piscata.*  
Tac.

It is ever  
perilous  
to change  
the ordi-  
nance of a  
predeces-  
sor.

*manicus*, cooled the first affection he found (when hee came to the Empire) in the hearts of the Citizens, hastening as fast as hee could wish, to the overthrow of their liberty, and tumbling it by mayn force (as a rocke) into the gulfe of servitude, that it might never rise up again.

*Germanicus* was both favoured, and beloved of the people, because he was the sonne of *Drusus*, who formerly had undertaken to reduce the ancient government of the Commonwealth, and had imparted the project to *Tiberius* his brother: but he betrayed him, and discovered it to *Augustus*. It was supposed the sonne would have pursued the fathers plot, to set liberty again on foot, and that if hee should attain the Soveraigne authority, hee would not exercise rigour like *Tiberius*, but raigne sweetly as *Augustus*, who was Prince, and seemed Citizen, disdaining

*Rome ru-  
unt in ser-  
vitium Con-  
sus, Pa-  
tres, Equi-  
ties. Tac.*

*Credebatur  
si verum  
potitus fo-  
ret, liberta-  
tem reddi-  
turna. Tac.*

*Augustus  
civile reba-  
tur misceri  
voluptati-  
bus populi.  
Tac.*

*Nihil reli-  
ctum Imper-  
atoribus  
ubi semina  
manipulos  
intervisat,  
signa adeat,  
largitionem  
teneat.*

daining not to be present in their popular recreations. For which cause *Germanicus* swayed in hearts, and *Tiberius* only in Provinces: and being advertised, hee had pacified Germany, and that his wife *Agrippina* had there done all which might be expected from the Generall of an army, to shew her courage to the enemies, her bounty to the soldiers, her prudence in seditions, he became jealous: and jealousy degenerating into mortal hatred, made him lay unto her; *What shall the Emperours have hereafter to do, since a woman undertaketh to command over men, visit the Court of Guards, oblige the soldiers with good words and large donatives?*

*Sejanus*, who loved not *Agrippina*, and well knew the humour of *Tiberius*, which brooked not any should trench upon his soveraigne Authority, (a thing to delicate, that how tenderly soever

i

it he touched, is alwayes wounded) wanted not arguments and surmises to entertain his jealousy, adding distrust to suspicion, to suspicion fear, and (as it were) a farre off, preparing the hatred of this Prince to worke her ruine in the end.

*Germanicus* returneth from Germany; The whole City rejoyceth. *Tiberius* commandeth, that only two companies of the Pretorian bands should march before him: all the people ran thither, the sooner to give themselves the contentment of beholding him, whom they so long had desired and expected. *Tiberius* grew so discontented hereupon, that hee resolved to cut off this brave Prince, who was but now entring into the fourte and thirtieth yeere of his age, and had already gained as much reputation, as another perhaps could acquire in an age.

This hindered *Sejanus*, who tran-

*Odia in lon-  
gum facies,  
que recon-  
deret, au-  
flagne pro-  
meret. Suct.*

*Popu'us  
omnis usque  
ad viresim  
lapidem se  
effudit.  
Suct.*

*Sceleratis  
ingenii, &  
placuisse  
civitatis cu-  
pientibus;  
non domi-  
natur in star-  
servitatu  
et. Calp.*

transported with the desire of rule, supposed this mighty power he possessed in the affairs of State, was nought else but servitude, whilst he acknowledged a Superior. *Tiberius* by his advice sendeth *Germanicus* into *Sclavonia*, under colour of honouring him with principall charges of the Empire; giveth him for Lieutenant *Gneius Piso*, an evill man, proud, and violent; with commission to observe his actions, & discover all his designes. It is said *Sejanus* gave him direction by writing, to make away this poor Prince.

He puts this in execution, *Germanicus* passeth into *Ægypt*, and being there, was desirous to see the Idoll *Apis*, to know what his fortune should be. He presented it with meat to eat. *Apis* would take nothing from his hand, which was interpreted for a certain signe of his death. He was surprized with a long, lingring, & pain

*Apis ma-  
num Ger-  
manici Ce-  
sarum ex-  
fars est  
hunc multo  
post excidit;*  
Plin.

painfull sicknesse, and his opinion of being poysoned, augmented the violence thereof, so that hee held it incurable. The rumour came to Rome, much greater than the maledy; for distance redoubled it. Nothing was then heard, but teares and lamentations. And wherfore was it (saith one) that he was sent to the utmost limits of the World, that *Piso* was made his Lieutenant: These are the practices of the Empress with *Plancina*, the wife of *Piso*. (*Poore Rome*,) we can't affect those which love thee, nor dare we murmur against such as rare thee: adding therunto vehement and mortall imprecations against *Sejanus*.

It was reported by Merchants of *Egypt*, that he began to recover. This news was as soone believed as published. The streets were thronged with the multitude of people that ran to the Temples to render thanks to the god.

*Zamex  
longinus,  
et. I. I.  
The pro-  
prieatib.  
to events  
all actions  
which  
went be-  
fore.*

*Festina  
lente ne  
dilegitur  
Felix et.  
F. ac.*

Provisor in  
tenebris  
affirmatio.  
Tac.

Salua Ro-  
ma, salua  
patria, sal-  
tuus est  
Germanici-  
cus. Suet.  
Germanici-  
cus could  
not endure  
the crow-  
ing or  
sight of a  
cock. Plut.

Night favoured this rumour; Be-  
liefe seems much more easie, and is  
most confident in the dark. Tibe-  
rius himselfe is wakened in the  
night with the acclamations of  
joy: Nothing was every where  
heard, but these words, *Rome is  
delivered, our Countrey is freed,  
Germanicus is safe.*

After this poyson slowly-vio-  
lent, had wasted all the heat and  
moiture of this poore afflicted  
body, his Allies & friends wished  
it might not be irksome to him  
to have or see a Cock, to sacrifice  
it to *Aesculapius*: and that the  
Gods would restore him life,  
therby to give libertie to the Ro-  
man Empire. In this his extreme  
weaknes he breathed forth these  
last words, to impressle them in  
the hearts of his wife and friends,  
whom sorrow dissolved into  
teares, and much discontorted.

Ger-

Germanicus his spech.

**I**F I should die by the course of  
Nature, I happily might with  
justice complain of the Gods, that  
they untimely had sicke hed mee a  
way from my kindred, children, &  
country, even in the flower of my  
youth. But since my careere is stop-  
ped by the malignitie of Piso, and  
Plancina, I will poure into your  
hearts these my last petitions.

I conjure you to present to the  
Emperour my father, & my uncle,  
how that after I had neene su-  
charged with cruell injuries, and  
afflicted with unufferable distroy-  
alies, I ended my deplorable life,  
by a death more miserable. Those  
who have followed my fortunes,  
and are of the same blood with my  
self, yea, those who have mad me  
miserable when I was alive, shall sorrow  
to see me ruined by the treason of  
a woman, at the time when I most  
flourished, and had escaped death

Qui pre-  
maturo ex-  
iit ex patitur  
iis etiam  
adversus  
deos justus  
datur. Tac.

victimis  
preces pe-  
stori us  
ve illis re-  
linquuntur.  
Tac.

in guerram  
vita peti-  
ta mire  
datur.  
Tac.

Erit vobis  
locumque-  
rendi, apud  
Senatum  
invocandi  
leges. Tac.  
Non decet  
defunctum  
ignoroque-  
sum persequi.  
Tac.

Vindicabitis  
vos, si me  
potius, quam  
fortunam  
meam fru-  
batis. Tac.

Fingentur  
duo celesta  
miranda,  
aut non  
creant ho-  
mines, aut  
non iugos-  
cent. Tac.

in so many battels : and your  
selves also shall have cause to  
complain to the Senate, and im-  
plore the assistance of Laws.

The best office of friends, is, not  
to follow the deceased with out-  
cries and lamentations, which are  
of no effect; but to remember what  
be desired, and execute what bee  
ordained. Germanicus cannot  
want teares; Those who are no-  
thing to him, nor ever knew him,  
shall bewooan him; but you ought  
to revenge him, if you more affe-  
cted his person, than fortune.

Let the people of Rome behold  
the Neece of Augustus, the wife of  
Germanicus, and the six children  
he hath left behinde him. Compa-  
son will be extended towards  
them, when they shall accuse the  
authors of my death, & should the  
accused faine, or finde out execra-  
ble commandements for their pur-  
poses (this touched Sejanus, who  
herein had directed Piso) honest  
men will not believe it, nor sus-  
pect

fer it to passe unpunished.

All those who were present  
swore instantly before Germani-  
cus, to die, or revenge his death,  
every one bewailing the losse of  
so brave a Prince, who in his de-  
portments shewed the greatnes  
and worth of his fortune, and in  
words so much sweetnes and  
affability. He turneth himself to-  
wards his wife, conjureth her by  
the love hee had born her, by the  
memory shee was willing to re-  
ceive of him, and by their mu-  
tuall children, a little to humble  
her spirit, to accommodate it to  
the times, and bend it to the ri-  
gour of her fortune, in expecta-  
tion of amendment. Take heed  
(my Dearest) above all when  
you shall be at Rome, not to give  
occasion of suspition to those  
who are more powerfull than  
your selfe, and employ not the  
affection you shall finde in the  
hearts of the Senate and people,  
to stand out in competition

G 3. with

Magnili-  
dinem, &  
gravitatem  
summe  
fortuna re-  
tinens in-  
videm, &  
usquam a  
effugit.  
Tac.

Fortuna  
severis  
in mittend  
duo animus  
Tac.

Emulatio-  
ne potentia  
victiores  
blandiri-  
tendi. Tac.

with their favour or ambition.

This was the most wholesome counsell hee could give her, but she held her self unworthy to be accounted the Niece of *Augustus*, wife of *Germanicus*, and mother of his children, if she had set an higher price on fortune, than vertue, or sought to enter into the favour of the Emperour by the help of *Sejanus*.

When the people of Rome understood that *Germanicus* was dead, their sorrow was so much the greater, as they beleaved hee once before had beeene snatched from them, and nothing was now every where to be seen, but grief & affliction. It was doubted whether he were made away by poyson, or witchcraft. The one was imagined, because his heart would not burne; and the other published, for that there were found about him, and in his bed, bones of the dead, characters, and charms.

*Quip̄ rur-  
sum crepitū  
acris ad-  
dit. Tac.*

*cremari  
cor inter  
osfa incor-  
ruptum re-  
perfum est,  
cujus ea  
natura ut  
ratum ve-  
neno igne  
confine-  
queat. Suet.*

The

The friends of *Germanicus* di-vulged every where, that *Piso* had murthered him, that *Agrippina* would be revenged; but hee hearing the news of his death in the Isle of Coos, made many sacrifices, *Plancina* his wife visiteth the Temples, hee neglecteth the menaces of *Agrippina*, and thinks on nothing but his owne establishment in the government of Syria, supposing the service hee had done for *Tiberius* would be sufficient to secure him, from the feare of this revenge, and confirme the recompence of his merit.

Vpon his determination to go into Syria, his sonne adviseth him to repaire to Rome, without taking notice of vain rumours, and weak suspitions, thereby to dissolve, or prevent the designes of his enemies, and gain advantage of the first impressions: That it was not fit hee so soone should think to re-establish himselfe in

*Piso intent  
peraster  
accipit  
Germani-  
cum exce-  
cisse, cedit  
victimas,  
ad e tem-  
p'ia, magis  
insolecente  
Plancina.  
Tac.*

*Suspitiones  
imbecille,  
aut inania  
fame non  
pertimicē-  
der. Tac.*

C 4 the

the government of Syria, since *Senius* was therunto deputed: That he could not hope great obedience from an Army, which yet deplored the death of *Germanicus*, and resented his memorie: That he would repent it, drawing upon himselfe the imputation of a Civil warre.

*Domitius Celer* on the contrary urgeth: That hee should reassume the charge had been taken from him, and replenish the place which was become void: That it wold prove a point of imprudence, & perill, to arrive at Rome at the same time when *Agrippina* was to come thither, and that the people would be much moved with her cries and lamentations: That it was necessary to give time to these first bruits, wherby they might wax old, and that innocencie hath much ado to resist the impetuous violence of envie, when it is first enkindled: That it was convenient he should go into

spad mil.  
res recens  
l. p. a. d. is  
memoria  
g. r. v. a. l. s.  
T. ac.

Utrendum  
eveniu.  
Dom. Ccl.

Relinquer-  
dum rumo-  
nibus tem-  
pus, quo se-  
mifare  
plarumque  
innocentes  
recerti in-  
vidie im-  
pares. Tac.

to Syria, to undertake command in the Army, and authority, in government, and that nothing was to be done, but to take arms in hand, and manifest himselfe in the field; and that things apprehended as perilous, oft times succeed more securely, than could be foreseen, or expected: That he need not feare any thing, since the Empresse was interested in his cause, and *Tiberius* obliged to dis-engage him: but rather that hee favouring him in secret, wold take it ill, this affair shold be so precipitated, as to enforce him to maintain it in publique: That it was undoubted, the most satisfied with his death would make the most shew of grief.

*Piso*, whose spirit ran more willingly into dangerous resolutions with courage, than into ease with prudence, followeth this counsell, & went into Syria, but findeth *Gneius Senius* there, who not enduring to have, or ful-

Multa que  
provideti  
non possunt  
fortuita in  
melius reci-  
duunt. Tac.

Est tibi,  
Auguste,  
conscientia,  
est Cata-  
ris favor,  
sed in esca-  
ta. Tac.

Perissi  
Germani-  
cum nulli  
sclentius  
ment, quām qui  
maxime  
latantur.

Tac.

Haud mag-  
na māc  
Piso prem-  
ptus fer-  
citur. Tac.

The Tri-  
bunes and  
Captains  
deploiting,  
bare on  
their  
shoulders  
the vessels  
which  
held the  
ashes of  
Germanicus

*Agrippina  
appellant  
Decus pri-  
orie, solam  
Augusti  
sanguinem,  
uxicum an-  
tiquitatis  
specimen.*

Tac.

*Tiberius  
et Augusta  
publico ab-  
stineret, ne  
orarium o-  
culis vultus  
erum scru-  
toribus  
fali ment-  
berentur.*

Tac.

fer a cōpaniō in his charge, drave  
him out of the Province, besie-  
gcth him in a Fortresse of Cilicia,  
and constraineth him to yield,  
and return to Rome.

In the meane time *Agrippina*  
embarqueth on the Sea, with the  
ashes of her husband *Germanicus* ; and arriving at Rome is re-  
ceived with many testimonies of  
honour, by all the Romane peo-  
ple, who witnessed an excessive  
sorrow for the death of an hu-  
band, and an unspeakable joy for  
the retarne of the wife and chil-  
dren. The people call *Agrippina*  
the honour of the Countrey, the  
onely and true bloud of *Augu-  
stus*, the pattern of ancient glory,  
and adde to their acclamations,  
vowes and prayers for the safe-  
ty of the widdow, the infants, &  
ruine of their enemies.

*Tiberius* was much offended  
with these applauses, and would  
not be present at this reception,  
fearing lest his brow should dis-  
cover

cover the joy of his heart for the  
death of *Germanicus* : hee there-  
fore commandeth the people to  
moderate their sorrow, and bear,  
as himselfe had done the discom-  
fiture of his Armies, the losse of  
his Captains, and ruine of the no-  
blest Families.

Presently after *Piso* arriveth, so  
much neglecting the threats of  
*Agrippina*, that *Marcus Vibius* a  
Friend to *Germanicus*, saying to  
him, it was fit he went to Rome,  
to purge himself, hee angerly an-  
swereth, as it were scolding; You  
shall see me there, when the Pretor  
who informeth against sorcerers  
shall have set a peremptory day to  
she accuser and accused.

Hee entret Rome proud and  
magnificent, in a glorious equi-  
page, his wife brave & cheertull,  
the doores of his Lodgings ador-  
ned with Laurels, which much  
the more irritated the people.  
The next day he is accused of the  
death of *Germanicus*, and *Tibe-*

*rus*  
*Romanus*  
*cladem ex-  
eritum,*  
*intritum-  
dum, fun-  
ditus amis-  
sus nobiles  
familias  
constanter  
tulit. Tac.*

*Eulens re-  
spicit, au-  
futurum  
ubi Piso erat  
qui de ve-  
re nisi is  
quereret,  
vix atque  
accusatiori-  
bus dico  
predixit.*

Tac.

*Fuit inter  
irruentes  
invictis le-  
mas foro  
imminens  
f. Tiberius*

Tac.

*Vera, autem  
in determinis  
credita iu-  
dicia ab uno  
sufficiuntur,  
ad alios, &  
in iudicis a-  
plicandis  
valent.*

Tac.

*Haud il-  
lebus Tri-  
bunum  
reprobant  
et regis-  
tronem que-  
ntur esse  
fons ei-  
rificationis  
Tib.*

*Praecipue  
se-  
paratiam.  
ambitio,  
mimese,  
cunctorum,  
et praece-  
cutio.  
Tac.*

*rius demandeth triall. Piso desi-  
rects it, yet fearing the affection  
of the Senate to the memory of  
*Germanicus*, and confiding the  
Judge would be his Protectour,  
hee thought better to have re-  
course to the authority of one,  
than the passion of many.*

*Tiberius feareth it was an hard  
task for himself to condemne the  
cunable, and discharge his own  
conscience: for well hee knew  
the reports, which truth had  
made currant every where a-  
gainst himselfe and his Mother,  
and that *Piso* had been but the in-  
strument of his Parricide. Hee  
was willing to handle this affaire  
with little noyse, and therefore  
heareth the accusers in the pre-  
sence of *Sejanus*, and some of his  
most confident and familiar  
Friends; They require justice, &  
adde menaces to their prayers.  
It is not to be doubted, but hee  
was councelled to suffer *Piso* to  
gerish, rather than suffer his own*

re-

reputation to be wounded, and  
*Princes usum non longior, tan-  
tem they are necessary.*

But because the Historie no-  
minatest *Sejanus* the Inventor  
of all these mischiefs, it passeth  
further, and saith the Emperour  
ought not to entermeddle with  
these affaires; for in condemning  
*Piso*, hee too much should raise  
the pride of *Agrippina*, and by  
declaring him innocent, it would  
be laid, Favour had so much op-  
pressed justice, it durst not affirm  
the confederate should free the  
criminally: That it was necessary  
to refer it to the Senate, and that  
if there he were condemned, the  
judgment would be ascribed to  
the passion of *Germanicus* his Fa-  
mily; if absolved, the blame  
would be laid on the Senators.

*Sejanus instruet Piso, what  
hee should say, assureth him the  
impunitie of all his other crimes,  
provided he tax not him; that the  
Emperour would quench the  
fire.*

*Facinorum  
omnium re-  
pensor. Tac.*

*It is fit to  
proceed  
wisely, &  
maturely  
in doubt-  
full cases,  
where the  
Princes  
reputation  
is in ha-  
zard.*

*Ne in pa-  
trocinium  
quidem, ne  
dum in g-  
eriam est;  
incensum  
extinxisse  
quod fecer-  
rit. Sen.*

fire hee had enkindled , and not suffer the sick man to die of the malady he had caused , and that his owne reputation (the onely engine of his authority) obliged him rather to ruine himself, than not to save him.

The frame  
of a Prin-  
ces power  
is wholly  
built upon  
reputation

*Quicquid  
fides amicis  
Germanici, que  
fiducia reo,*

Piso appeareth in the Senate, Advocates are allowed to speake for the accusers , and others to defend the accused. The subject was well worthy the eloquence of the most able , and of those which sought not affaires , but were found out by affaires , and who better loved the importance, and quality of employments than their titles, and multitude. Tiberius made an Oration with such a mixture betweene the accusation , and the accused, that it was verily supposed the cunning and contexture therof, was premeditated. The whole City was attētive to heare what the opinion of the friends of Germanicus would be, the confidence of the accused,

the

the countenance of Tiberius , and whether he were able wel to cō- ceale and bridle the sense of his passion, or wold suffer it to break out. And the people, who otherwise regard not occurrents, gave themselves therein much liberty against the Prince , whether in speaking they discovered detrac- tion , or through silence be- wrayed their suspition..

### Tiberius his Speech.

*You know (Fathers) saith Ti-  
berius, that Piso hath hereto-  
fore been a friend to Augustus my  
Father, and his Lieutenant in the  
Spanish Army, and that by the ad-  
vice of the Senate, he was consti-  
tuted an assistant to my Nephew  
Germanicus in the manage of the  
Eastern affaires. Now is the time  
you ought with purified and un-  
tainted consciences to judge, whe-  
ther through arrogance , or pre-  
sumption of authority, hee hath*

wounded

*satisue co-  
biberet ac  
premeret  
sensus suss  
Tiberius,  
an prome-  
ret. Tac.  
Populua  
multum fibi  
occulte vo-  
cis aut su-  
spicacis fi-  
lentis per-  
mittit.  
Tac.*

*In iugis  
animis ju-  
dicandum.  
Tac.*

Legatus officii terminos, & obsequium erat Imperatore non exxit.  
Tac.

Facinus iu-  
cunscium  
que morta-  
lium nece,  
vidican-  
dum. Tac.

Suepta  
per ambi-  
tatem studis  
multum.  
Tac.

wounded the soule of this young Prince, whether he hath rejoiced at his decease, or traiterously and wickedly procured his death.

For if in this charge of Lieutenant he hath exceeded the limits of duty, if he hath neglected the respect due to a Generall, if he hath shewed any contentment in his death, and my sorrow, hee can not possibly, but incurre my indignation. If so, I protest I will banish him my house, and revenge my displeasure, not in the quality of a Prince, but as a private person.

And if you shall discover any impiety, which ought not onely to be avenged, in this parricide, but in any other, I conjure you to consider therin your own sorrows, the teares of Germanicus his children, and ours his neare Allies; deny us not (I pray) a just consolacion.

Of the one part remember, how Pilo bath demeaned himselfe, in the army, whether he have raised any troublos, or sedition, whether hee

hee have endeavoured to gaine the affections of men of War, to aspire to command, and whether after Germanicus took his charge from him, hee have sought to re-establish himself therin by force. On the other side, see whether these matters, as false, and invented have been published by accusers, for true, & be of greater consequence, than really they are.

For on my own part I cannot conceale my distaste of their passion heresie: For if wee be not (as yet) undoubtely certain of the cause of his death, and that information hereof is to be made, to what purpose have they exposed his naked body in the open market place of Antiochia, and suffered it to be handled, and viewed by the multitude, were it not to make a rumour runn amongst strangers, that he hath been poysoned, and to derive from this bruit more accesse, than proof.

Verily I deplore my sonne Germanicus,

Falsa in  
missus vul-  
gari accu-  
latores.  
Tac.

Nimis stu-  
dis accusa-  
torum jure  
succenser  
princeps.  
Tac.

Incerta ad-  
buerunt  
da sunt.  
Tac.

Rens cur-  
ea profe-  
rat, quibus  
innocentia  
ejus suble-  
vari posset.  
Tac.

Objecita  
crimina  
pro adpro-  
batis non  
acciendi.  
Tac.

manicus, and shall all my life time bewail him, yet will not hinder the accused to produce whatsoeuer hee can to maintaine his owne innocencie, and to make prooffe of any injurie Germanicus hath done him.

*Sic cui propinquus sanguis, aut fides sua patrones deat, quantum quisque eloquenter, & cura valet futare perclentanti. Tac.*  
In accusations where the griefe of the Prince is joyned to the cause, his

For which cause I conjure you, that you receive not accusations for proofs, under colour that this cause is conjoyned to my grief. And you the rest, who by right of affinitie, or friendship, have undertaken the defence of the accused, employ your best endeavour and eloquence to vindicate his innocencie from perill; and I likewise exhort the accusers to shew constancie in their pursuit. All the favour we can do to Germanicus beyond the laws, is, but to be informed of his death rather in the Palace, than the Market-place, and by Senators than ordinary Judges. In every thing else equal moderation. Reflect not on the teares of my brother Drusus over his sonne

sonne, nor mine for my Nephew, and much lesse on any thing that slander can faigne against us.

Therupon it was laid, the accusation should be drawn within two dayes, the accused should have six dayes to prepare themselves, and in three dayes make answer. It was a hard matter to refell the poysoning; Confidence gave some favourable presumption for innocency, but staggered in the other crimes.

At the first session, Vitellius and Veranius related to the Senate, the last words of Germanicus, which softned hearts to pity, as affection had already prepared them for favour. Fulcininius Trio, in whom exclamation and speech were the same thing, desirous to acquire reputation by doing ill, began the accusation: but because hee produced but generall matters, and old inquisitions of what Piso had done, the Senate gave no regard to it: For all that could

not be cō-  
sidered.

A strange proceed-  
ing: time  
is given to  
the accu-  
sed to an-  
swer that  
which is  
within his  
owne  
know-  
ledge, and  
the know-  
ledge of  
Orators  
to colour  
their an-  
swers.

Celebre in-  
ter accusa-  
tores Tri-  
onis inge-  
nium, avi-  
dumque fa-  
me male.  
Tac.

Vitrea &  
inania que  
neque con-  
victa noxia  
re.

not hurt the accused, although he had been convinced, nor serve for his discharge, though he were justified, if hee otherwise were attainted of more enormous crimes.

*Vitellius* accompanieth the vehemencie and force of his speech with much grace, and gravity, speaking in this manner:

*Vitellius his speecb.*

The con-  
sideration  
of the  
quality of  
accusers  
fortifieth  
the accusa-  
tion.

A cause  
strong in  
it selfe  
needs no  
help.

**A**lthough (Conscript Fathers) the quality of those who complaine, deserve consideration, yet is it not available but for such as seeke nor support from ought else but justice, and the power of their own plea.

This cause carrieth its owne favour, nor needeth any other aid, but, that, of lawes, which is not denied to the meanest. I could say, those who now presently implore it, are of such qualitie, that if it be denied them,

the

the Empire no longer shall stand in need either of Lawes, or Senate. The bloud of *Augustus* requireth vengeance, the people expect it, the Judges owe it, and you *Cesar* are obliged therunto, both as Prince, and Parent.

I seek not to make this accusation plausible, but in reprenting the crime as a prodigie, the criminall as a particide, & the execesse such, that every one hath benaoaned it; forraigne Nations have admited it, kindred have bewailed it. This Citie in all things commends moderation, except in so just a relentment of sorrow as this is: *Germanicus* is no more; Oh what grief? Wee have lost him; Oh what unhaftiness? *Germanicus*, the Worlds Darling, the Love of his Country, who had so much bounty for Citizens, so much courtesie for his Allies, so much modesty for strangers, hath been traiterously and miserably murdered: And

The au-  
thoritie of  
a Prince  
mantai-  
neth the  
state, and  
it cannot  
last when  
the re-  
venge of  
offences is  
cōtemned.

*Ingenis le-  
ctus pro-  
vincie, &  
circumfa-  
censium  
populorum.  
indoluerē  
extere na-  
tiones re-  
ge quae.*

Tac.  
*Hic comitas  
in socios,  
manufac-  
do in belles.*  
Tac.

by whom? By *Piso*, an impious and ungratefull man; By whom also? By *Plancina* a fury in the shape of a woman. By what means? By charms and poysons: who are the Complices? Sorcerers drawne out of Heli: And wherfore? to revenge injury, and usurpe on authority.

The souls of ill men (Fathers Conscript) are not instantly wicked, nor is there any man who embraceth malicie for nougnt, but the meere pleasure thereof. They by degrees give forme to their designes, and to direct them to the utmost limits. *Piso* by petty crimes is mounted to the greatest, from avarice to rapine, from thence to practices, so to ambition, and from ambition, to the violation of the authority of lawes, by that way to hasten to the contempt of the Gods. To Spaine hee hath given testimony of his avarice, to Syria of his ambition, and to the house of *Germanicus*

*Nemo canum à natura illegit & bonum exit, ut amici call. sa malus sit. Sen.*

*manicus* of his impiety.

So soon as you honoured him with the charge of Lieutenant to *Germanicus*, hee d felembled not his ambition to become Generall, practising at Rome to make him odious to his father, and in the Army to be despised of the Souldiers. He laboured to draw them to his devotion, expelled the Tribunes who would not depend on him, filled their places with persons trusty, and to make himself beloved by men of war, permitted sloth in the Campe, riots in the City, insolence in the field, and was then called Father of the Legions. On the other side, *Plancina* went equall with *Agrrippina*, and undertook matters above the decorum of women, was often present in the exercises of the Cavallie, and race of swift horses.

And though this was harsh to a temper whose actions were ci-vill, yet he thought it more fit to dif-

*Haud in-  
vito Im-  
peratore ea  
facta, occu-  
sus sum. r.  
incedebat.  
Tac.*

*Defidie in  
castris, li-  
centia in  
urbibus.  
Tac.  
Bouique  
corruption  
nu prover-  
bus. ut in  
sermone  
vulga parés  
legionum  
babaretur.  
Tac.*

*Secreta stu-  
dia pati non  
potest ani-  
mata ad ci-  
vilia er-  
itas, agen-  
dique cupi-  
dia.* Sen.

*Si quando  
ad fiducia  
arrox ac  
dissentire  
manifestus.*  
Tac.

dissemble them, than disquiet the Emperour his Father with troublesome complaints. Hee commandeth *Piso* to leade one part of the Legions into Armenia, or send his sonne thither, he made no account of the one or the other, and lost the opportunitie of a service most important for the Empire. When he sate in Counsell with *Germanicus*, or on a seat of justice under him, hee sharply and impudently oppoised all his designes.

I will recite an incredibe infolence, but so certain, that he will not dare deny it, therby to manifest, that folly and malice were inseparable companions, and sisters in all his actions. Being present at a Feast of the King of Nabathaea, seeing the golden Crowns given him were not of like lustre or weight with those of *Germanicus* and *Agrrippina*, he cast them to the ground, and full as foolish as malicious, undertooke

tooke to reprove the magnificence of the Feast, discoursed against superfluity, and said such an expence was fit for a Roman Emperour, not the sonne of a King of Parthia.

Silly man, didst thou thinke ever after this to finde confidence in the soule, or security in the Friends of *Germanicus*, whom thou so shamelesly hadst offended, although he were condemned for being too good, and for suffering too much : Could'st thou suppose, there might be any safe retreat in the World, to protect thee from the anger of a Prince extracted from the blood of *Augustus*? Hast thou ever heard the hearts of this line have been exasperated without enflaming punishment? And behold why *Plancina*, who could not esteeme her self happy, whilst *Agrippina* was so, told her husband he must either perish or revenge himself, and either pull this thorn

D

out

*Hee who  
offendereth  
a Prince  
hath no  
safety but  
in absence  
Erat Ger-  
manicus  
clemens.*  
Sen.

*Nex pater  
ene felix,  
quem ter-  
qubit.*  
Sen.

*Patres conscripti.*

Plut.

It is a generous way of revenge, to let the enemy see one can be revenged.

*Ex eius quibus insedationibus petreatur manus suetudine tam en agerat.* Tac.  
Petib. quā dique intermiximūt et cū suis riferi.

Tac.

*Nelius curius invenit ab illis natura eī, cum mūndo traxit principia.* Sen.

out of his owne heart, or suffer another to do it.

*Admire* (Conscript Fathers) the goodness and generositie of this Prince, who having so often, and so sensibly been offended by *Piso*, hath ever contented himselfe with letting him know hee could have revenged, but did save when he might destroy. He came to Rhodes unto him, and was well adverciled of all the practices he used against him, but bare himselfe with such equality and temper, that upon notice a storm had cast him on the lands, he sent vessels to dit-ingage him, although if he there had left him, only Chance could have been accused of his losse, and Fortune supposed to conspire in his revenge.

*Germanicus* visiting Ægypt, was curious to see the sources of Nilus, (that memorable River which began with the Wo ld,) and in his return, found *Piso* had

changed

changed the Decrees made at his departure, altered what hee establisched, and contemned his commands. Hee was much troubled herewith, his servants animated him to resent it, and he could not so dissemble it, but that choler appeared by his words, and revenge in his menaces. *Piso* retireth, *Germanicus* falle sicke; *Piso*, who knew the force of the malady, removes not far off, and death is hastened by the violence of the poyson.

Ah, cruell man! Hearre the words of this dying Prince, yea, dying words which eternally shall live in the memory of the Romans : *I die miserably in the florore of usine age by the treason of Piso and Plancina ; I conjure you my Friends to let the people of Rome know, these wretches cut the throats of the Neece of Augustus, and her six little children.* Where are hearts to be found, which these words doe not rend asunder?

*Amici accendendis offenditionibus callidi.* Tac.

The last words of a dying Prince fortified the complaint against the authors of his death.

*Tutum aliquares in mala conscientia prestat, nulla secundum. Sen.*

*Subdola mora scelerum probatores subvertit.*  
Tac.

*Ahibi fal-  
cer, & jus  
Pratoris  
mibi legio-  
nes dare.*

alunder? Yet thou *Piso* livest still, and the Sunne affords thee her light; Thy conscience not knowing where to hide thee , hath broughte thee hither to suffer punishment, denying thee the safetie thou elsewhere hast sought. As it hath failed thee in deliberation on this crime, so hath it betrayed thee in leading thee to punishment : What hast thou done after this parricide ? Thou didst visit the Cities of Asia, and spend thy time in the fair houses of Achaia.

This was done ; to the end proofs might vanish , and witnesses die. It is needfull ( Fathers Conscript) to set *Piso* in the condition of a man convict , to reduce him into the state of one accused.

Hee hath not done as the good man *Valerius Publicola*, who being accused, forsook his house at *Velia*, and lodged in the Town, to the end hee might easse them

of

of the trouble, to finde him out.

The innocent man flyeth not from judgment, but he that is culpable avoideth the Judges.

If he had been accused for taking armes, he purposed to shelter himselfe with the power he had in Syria under *Germanicus* his Generall; if to have laid hands on publique treasures , he supposed the share which he distributed among his Friends , would save the rest. Hee escapes for a little who robbed much.

If *Martina*, the notorious Witch and Sorceresse , a great friend of *Plancina* were alive, she could declare the whole mystery of this treason. The friends of *Germanicus* caused her to be brought towards Rome , but when shee arrived at Brindisi, shee suddenly died , and the poysen hid in the knots of her haire, appeared not on her body.

D 3.

If

Whē great ones are accused, they must appeare upon easie summons.

*Vereum  
noda crisiis  
oculatum  
nec ulla in  
corpone sig-  
na iunptis  
exitii re-  
perta. Tac.  
Sustum in-  
sidius ex-  
ternas in-  
ter gentes  
est. dit.  
Tac.*

*So Lepori-  
na sued  
her hus-  
band Sa-  
binus in  
the time  
of Vespa-  
bian.*

If presumptions may assist veritie, it cannot be said this Prince who found less securitie among his owne, than with strangers, was murdered by any other than *Piso*. Who hath done it? He had displeased none but him, and upon the resentment of this offence, hee was declared his enemy, he assaulted him in his Chariot, and it is known to be a very hard matter, to separate the desire of death, from that, of succession.

Wee heretofore in this place have heard of one proscribed, who to enjoy the goods of his wife, told her he would kill himselfe, she resolved to beare him company. Hee prepareth the deadly drug, but so craftily, that drinking first, hee left the poyon for his wife, which through the weight therof remayned in the bottom of the glasse. She dieth, he was in health, and enjoyed the wealth she left him by her Will.

Will. Never is that poyon esca-  
ped, which is given by the next  
heire.

Who rejoyceth more at a death, than he who procured it? And desires it more ardently, than hee that expects it with much impatience? How did *Piso* entertain it? He made Sacrifices, he offered Victimes; *Plancina* is so transported with thi- joy, that shee laid aside the mourning weeds she was putting on for the death of her sister, and attires her selfe with the fairest, and richest garments of her Wardrobe.

This accusation aboundeth with so much variety, and his resolution to free himselfe from *Germanicus*, is replenished with so many mischiefs, that they smother, and by heaps precipitate one another in this discourse, so that I have much ado to marshall them in order. I had forgot to tell you how *Piso* sent Spies to

D 4 know

*Id genus  
veneni fact  
quod pon-  
dere substa-  
deret in i-  
mara jetio-  
zem, bi. ir  
iße usque  
ad vena. ii.  
uxer vne-  
zua. Sen.  
P.  
Luctus leto-  
cula iusta-  
tus. Tac.*

*Nihil ordi-  
naturnquid  
precipi-  
tatur & pro-  
perat. Sen.*

Hoffi lenta  
videntur  
veneficia.  
Tac.

It is a ve-  
ry sensible  
griefe to  
dye in the  
sight of an  
enemy, &  
to leave a

know the condition of *Germanicus* his sicknesse, and the symptomes therof. This displeased the sick man, and much troubled his minde, not with feare; for death never terrified him; but with anger and passion, apprehending that sooon as he should expire, *Piso* would usurpe command over his Forces, and his wife rest at his discretion. *Piso* in like manner was perplexed, the poysen was so slow, that it wrought not it's effect soone eneough, he therefore returned into Syria, to be nearer the Legions, and upon occasion to make use of them. Which was the caule **G E R M A N I C U S** laid in his anguish of minde.

*How then? must I die, de-  
stroyed by mine enemy, shall he  
see mee give up the ghost? What  
shall become of my distressed wife,  
how shall she be entreated, what  
shall my children doe, to whom  
teare*

teares in this calamitie will not be wanting to weep for mee, though words (perhaps) faile to deplore me?

*Let that happen, whick Heaven will, Piso hath taken away my life, but hath left me courage; nor am I reduced to such debility, that I ever shall consent the murderer may derive reward from my death. Hereupon hee sent him a Letter written with his owne hand, to this purpose, that hee held him for an enemy, that he forbade him accessse to his house, and abode in that Province.*

But there is no doubt, but witchcraft succeeded poysen, since the bones of the dead were scene torne from the members, and fastned to the wals, & roofs of the chamber, characters with charms and imprecations, the name of *Germanicus* engraven on plates of lead, ashes halfe burnt, and mingled with the putrifaction of ulcers, & other

wife and  
children  
in his  
power.

When the  
Romans  
would  
breake  
friendship  
with any  
one, they  
gave them  
notice  
theroef, &  
forbad  
them their  
house. Tit.

*Mak si iis  
anima et  
minibus in-  
fernali sacra.*  
Tac.

*Moderatus  
curvis qui  
vultus propius  
regredi.*

Tac.

*Ingenium  
vulnatum,  
obsequii ig-  
narus.*

Tac.

incantations and impieties, with which they use to bewitch any one to death, sacrificing him to the God of Hell.

Although this Prince were dying, and in the agonies thereof, *Piso* feared him, and at his command weighed anchor, and departed; but went not farre off, that his return might be speedy, when hee should have notice of his death. And if all this put together serve not to convince him, where shall truth seeke for proofs?

Thus (Conscript Fathers) you behold before your eyes a man marked from his mothers wombe for violence, and the spirit of rebellion; for he is sonne of a father, who followed the faction of *Brunus* and *Cassius*. He not onely is an extortioner, but a robber; not an entermedler, but seditious; not an enemy, but a rebell: not a murderer, but a tormentor. Never did any Criminall

minall more exact your justice than this man, for the execration of his crime enforceth you to condemne him: and if in despite of Gods and men you pardon him, it will be impossible to free him from the hands of the people, who expect him: and heare (Conscript Fathers) their exclamations, there is not any woman so low of stature, that promiseth not her selfe to teare some haire from his head.

Propose to your selves, what their joy will be, when they see the heads of rebellion dragged after a triumphant chariot, and the next day executed, for satisfaction of the inhumanities, and cruelties they committed in their Provinces; yea, much more will they be pleased, when they shall behold *Piso* in torment.

They lose their patience, if you doe not speecily pronounce thete folowme words; fake, Executioner, this Parricide, this

T. liet,

*Cicero*  
faith, the  
crime of  
*Verres* en-  
forced the  
Judges to  
condemne  
him.

When the triumphat passed to the Capitoil, hee put his prisoners over to the Migrates, & durst not bring the to his lodg.ing.

Littere colle-  
gi manus,  
caput obnub-  
bito, a bo i-  
nsolici su-  
spendit.  
Cic.

Non mihi  
seculi in R.  
P. commis-  
serem; quam  
si qui cum  
a tam ne-  
fariis scle-  
ritus, sen-  
tencia sua  
liberaat.  
Cic.

In judge-  
ment upon  
men of  
quality,  
the time  
& reason  
of State  
are to be  
considered.

Thiefe, this Rebell, binde his hands, blinde-fold his eyes, and fasten them to a miserable gibbet. And who knoweth, whether the multitude transported with grief and sorrow, will rest there, whether they will be contented with the punishment of one alone, and not rush upon those who favoured this impious man, esteeming them more wicked than him.

No, no, (Conscript Fathers) there is no dalliance herein, the matter is too important, the consequence too great, and this man of such condition, that it would be full of danger, to commit any error in his execution. I beseech you (believe) that neither the accused, the time, place, reason of state, nor quality of the interested herein, can give consent to steale him from example, to deliver him in private, and not to suffer him to die in publique.

*Marsus Lepidus*, who had as much

much eloquence as might be, (for never any man could have enough speaking for Piso) in this sort answered the accusers.

*Lepidus his speech.*

IT is a great calamity (Fathers Conscript) for poore Piso to have been happy. Great honours many times serve for the felicitie of those who nothing deserve them, and such as merit before they obtaine them, finde their ruine by a strange extravagance, or cozenage of Fortune, which affording content to others, hath given to this man nothing but misery.

The great services Piso did for *Augustus*, obliged the Emperor to create him *Germanicus* his Lieutenant; but this honour was accompanied with so many disasters, that his fidelity found no favour, nor his counsell credit in the heart of this young Prince, who

Eloquentia  
nulli tota  
congit.  
Sen.P.

Great ho-  
nours are  
burdens,  
which op-  
presse  
those who  
beare  
them.  
*Ludos facit  
fortuna.*  
Sen.

Unhappy  
is the dig-  
nity which  
hath no  
credit  
with the  
Prince.

Nec in a-  
ftra lenta  
veniet via,  
iter ruina  
queret.  
Sen. T.

Necesse est  
oppri-  
mant  
onera, que-  
ferente ma-  
jora sunt.  
Sen.

who nothing distayned by the encounter of things impossible, raised his thoughts beyond dutie, threatned the Sun with darknes, the Ocean with thralldome, and from hence mounted to imaginations of greatnessse, which troubled the Emperour.

His affection to his Countrey, his loyalty to his Prince, obliged him to watch over his actions, which he ever found so bold, and vehement, that he thought this young *Hercules* meant not to climbe up to the Stars fairly, or peaceably, but would violently passe thorow the breach to the ruine of the Empire. These aims of an exorbitant ambition, could not happily succeed, nor was *Piso* amazed, when the Priest of *Apolloes* Oracle told him at Colophon, this should not long continue: the charge he undertook being too heavy for his forces.

But as Princes better love to be soothed in their follies, than

ad-

advised of their duties, hee presently was distasted in that *Piso* rather desired to displease him with truth, then content him with flattery. Hee esteemed his freedom presumption, when he shewed him the way from which he wanded, and what he ought to follow, yea, even then when hee told him hee should wrong the Majestie of the Empire, to entertaine with favour men of slight condition, and courteously countenance those abject Athenians who ever followed the contrary part to ours, nor have at any time been without some plot of revolt against us, formerly aiding *Mithridates* against *Sylla*, *Anthony* against *Augustus*.

Was it (I pray) by the Counsell of *Piso*, that hee entred into Egypt contrary to the ancient ordinance of *Augustus*, who recommended unto you for a secret of State, never to suffer any great

Malo veris  
offendere,  
quam pla-  
cere adulä-  
do. Sen.

Quod collu-  
viem illam  
nationum  
comitate  
nimia colu-  
ssi. Tac.

Inter alia  
dominatio-  
nis arcana  
*Augustus*  
veritis se-  
pauit. Æ-  
gyptum.  
Tac.

*Levi profi-  
dio inge-  
nites exer-  
citus exerce-  
tur. Tac.*

great man to passe into Ægypt : for in revolting against us, they might with a few resist a vast Army , and by forbidding the trade of corn, starve Italy.

Recall (Oh *Cæsar*) into your memory (for nothing of worth escapeth you) the disgust you received when *Piso* gave advertisement that this young Prince directed all his actions to vanity and ambition , who to gain the peoples hearts , gratified them with gifts of Corne and Money , marched up and down without a guard, on foot, ill attended , and clothed like a Grecian , as heretofore *Scipio* did.

All the furies of Hell could never have invented a more detestable Calumny than this poyson of which *Piso* is accused, but it is so slender , and transparent that falsehood may be seene thow it. How is it possible that you *Vitellius*, who have an open eye, and a cleer judgement (that

I

*In vulgus  
grata, sine  
militie ince-  
dere pedi-  
bus, inter-  
clus, & pa-  
ri cum  
Gracis &  
mihi.  
Tac.  
Tenuem en-  
daciūm pel-  
lucet. Sen.*

I may not alleage matters superfluous ) should at this time fixe your self on contrarieties , what likelihood is there that *Piso* eating at *Germanicus* table , who ever narrowly observed him, could have leisure to take poyson, to rub his fingers therin, and so infect the meat. Is this easie to be done in another mans house, in the preſence of a Prince, who hath assay made unto him, and so many eyes about him which obſerve all ?

If this this be true, *Piso* is willing , not , that the hand which perpetrated this parricide should be cut off , but the heart which imagined it, be torne alive out of his brest, and that this truth may be known, he offereth his whole Family , and Servants to be put on the rack.

He is not without fault; what man is free? Diamonds have blemishes, fair faces moles, but he is neither Villaine , nor Traitor. Those

*Non minus  
vitandum  
supervacua  
dicere,  
quam con-  
traria.  
Sen.P.*

*Absurdum  
inter alie-  
nas vitiis,  
& tot a-  
stinctum  
visu. Tac.*

*Qui patrem  
pulaveris,  
manus ei  
precidan-  
tur. Sen.P.*

*Offerebat  
familiam  
reus, & mi-  
nistros in  
tormenta.  
Tac.*

There is  
nothing  
so defor-  
med as an  
injury

which re-  
culeth  
back a-  
gainst  
him who  
spake it.

*Plut.*  
The Ma-  
gistrates  
ought to  
be more  
tender to  
become  
feared thā  
loved.

There is  
nothing so  
naturall : s  
to hate  
those who  
have per-  
secuted us.

Those that traduce him of pride,  
want not arrogancy themselves,  
if he be hasty , they are violent:  
never hath hee attempted on the  
life of his Princes.

If hee have used some severity  
in his charge, he did it rather out  
of duty , than disposition, *It is*  
*for Princes to make themselves*  
*beloved, and for Magistrates to*  
*be feared.* If he have failed in re-  
spect and affection towards *Germanicus*,  
it is a hard taske to be  
enforced to love him , who re-  
solves , and vowes your ruine.  
*Germanicus* , like all great men,  
wrote *Piso's* services on the  
sand, & all his offences on mar-  
ble, if we so may call the sincere  
and free councels , which he for  
his better direction gave him.

Hee protesteth the death of  
*Germanicus* hath drawne from  
his heart , a growing thorne , a  
continuall feare , that hee is glad  
to see his house freed from so  
potent an enemy, *Tiberius* from  
a Nephew so ambitious, the Em-

pire from a Prince so over da-  
ring. *Germanicus* would have  
ruined *Piso*, and heaven hath de-  
stroyed *Germanicus* , and in dy-  
ing made him know , there is a  
supreme justice above, which re-  
vengeth the violences of great  
ones, over inferiours. Are they  
permitted to spit in our faces, or  
to set foot on our throats , be-  
cause they are above us? Nay, the  
least creatures have questioned  
the Eagle. Nothing is so sweet  
as revenge, at what price soever;  
It is a viand , that is swallowed  
without chewing.

But never hath *Piso* attemp-  
ted on his life, as desirous of his  
death, and it being well known  
to have been naturall, it is a great  
impiety to faine it was violent.  
The Gods would have it so, it is  
not lawfull either in earnest, or  
by way of discourse to dispute of  
their power.

If he have endeavoured to gain  
some credit among Military  
men,

The Eagle  
having ta-  
ken away  
the young  
rabbers,  
the Dam  
undermin-  
eth the  
tree, and  
throweth  
down the  
nest of  
the Eagle,  
and her  
yong ones  
stand to  
her mercy.

*Mala &*  
*impia con-*  
*fuerudo*  
*contra deos*  
*disputandi,*  
*sive ex ani-*  
*mo id fiat,*  
*sive simula-*  
*re. Cic.*  
*Prompta*  
*Pisoni le-*  
*gioum flu-*  
*dia.*

men, it was but to lessen the exorbitancy of *Germanicus*. His ambition hastened to ruine, *Piso* to conservation, the one gave cause of jealousie to *Tiberius*, the other of caution to *Germanicus*. If hee have acquired good opinion in the Provinces, is he forbidden to cherish it? Are not affections free, what hurt is it to make them mutuall?

But hee rather chose to bow under *Cesars* goodnessse, than stify dispose himselfe to the defence of his innocency. With clasped hands therfore he imploreth this royll vertue, which abhorreth the brutish thirst of bloud, and humbly beseecheth you (O great Prince) to imitate heaven, which hath more thunder to affright, than lightning to punish.

But if all prove inexorable, & that the accusers hasten to ravish and snatch away this soul which they so much have turmoiled and

*Amor af-  
fectus liber,  
qui vices  
exigit.* Plin

*Ferina ra-  
bies sangu-  
ne gaudere.*  
Sen.

*Nihil tam  
periculorum  
fortunis in-  
nocentum,  
quam face-  
re adversa-  
rios.*

and afflicted, hee will die with this comfort, that his innocency found no protection, and rather had he perish, than offend thole, who might have saved him.

There resteth darknesse in the accusation of poison; It is a Pyramis which doth not entirely discover it selfe, for of three sides there is alwayes one which cannot be seen, *Piso* and *Plancina* his wife appeared, but the third hid *Tiberius*, and *Tiberius*, *Scajanus*.

This first audience ended, *Piso* went out, but the people were so incensed against him, that had he not been convoyed away in a Litter by the guard, he never had returned to his house, safe, and alive. That which the multitude could not do on his person, they acted on his statues, dragging them to the Gemonian staires.

*Plancina* his wife who had promised to undergoe his fortune, wholly inclined to levity

(a)  
*Portia said  
shee was  
not onely  
a partaker*

*A Tribuna  
deductus.  
vario ru-  
more, cutes  
salutis, an  
mortis exa-  
ctor.* Tac.

of the bed  
and table  
of her  
husband,  
as a Concubine,  
but was  
the Companion of  
his good  
and evill  
fortune, as  
his wife.  
*Plut.*

This opinion was  
common, and *Josephus* af-  
firmes it.  
The mad-  
love drink  
is quaffed  
in silver in  
stead of  
Greek  
wine.

Life-kil-  
ling *Arsenick* is ta-  
stfed in a  
golden  
dish.

(a naturall vice of that sex,) and  
being well assared of her owne  
life by the favour of the Empe-  
resse, neglected *Piso*, and aban-  
doned him, as if shee had been  
married to participate with him  
only in prosperity.

The Judges for many respects  
were implacable to the accused,  
*Cesar* was willing he should die,  
because hee entered with armes  
into the Province, the Senate  
constantly believed *Germanicus*  
was poysoned, and among vio-  
lent deaths poysoning is abhor-  
red with the greatest execra-  
tion, because therby persons most  
precious and esteemed are torne  
from the Common-wealth; for  
poyson more easily is mingled  
& compounded in golden, than  
earthen vessels. There is no Antidote  
hath more vertue, or ef-  
ficacy against poyson, than a pri-  
vate condition, which neither  
feareth avarice may attempt on  
his state, nor envy on his dignity,

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yet it is most certain, this poy-  
soning was never clearly proved,  
nor confidently affirmed by the  
accusers: There was no speech  
hereof either in Antioch or  
Rome, but according to the af-  
fection men beare to the dead, or  
hatred against the living.

*Tacitus* saith it is not certain  
that the marks of poyson ap-  
peared on the dead: *Suetonius* af-  
firmes hee was covered all over  
with purple spots, that he fomed  
at the mouth, and that his heart  
was found whole among the  
ashes: *Pliny*, that, *Vitellius* pres-  
ted this very hard, that *Piso* re-  
torted the arrow back, against  
thole that shot it: and as one af-  
firmed that *Germanicus* being  
poysoned his heart resisted the  
fire: so the other maintained that  
dying of the Cardiaque disease,  
his heart could not be burnt. So  
the Hypothesis ever rested in  
the question, and both the one  
and the other had truth on his  
side,

*Veneni cri-  
men accu-  
satoras non  
satis firma-  
bant.* *Tac.*

*Prætulerit  
ne veneficii  
figia p.mū  
confilit.*  
*Tac.*  
*Livores to-  
to corpore,  
spume per  
os fluebant,  
cor inter  
ossa insor-  
raptum.*  
*Suet.*

*Negatur  
cor cremari  
posse in his,  
qui Cardia-  
co morbo  
obirint, &  
veneno in-  
teremptus.*  
Plin.

*Nullo ma-  
gis exterri-  
tus est,  
quam quod  
Tiberium  
fine mis-  
eratione fine  
ira obfir-  
atum, clau-  
sumque vi-  
dit. Tac.*

fide, it being equally true according to *Pliny*, that the hearts of those who die by poysen, or the *Cardiaque evill* are not consumed by fire. But the worst passage of *Piso's* processe, was, the extreme boldnesse of the people, who taking rumour for proof, cryed out at the Court gate, that if justice were not executed on *Piso*, they would do it themselves.

All this much amazed *Piso*, who on the second day appeared in the Senate, to see if any change were made in this first severity. But he found the wind very contrary, *Tiberius* so cold, that for fear of discovering himself, he inclined neither to anger to ruine him, nor to pitie to afford him any hope. He thereupon judged he was to have no recourse thither, either for his innocencie, or truth. Yet notwithstanding *Sejanus* told him, *Tiberius* would take his opportunity

tunity when time required, and not see him lost; others terrified him saying, Although hee were declared innocent for the death of *Germanicus*, hee would be put to death for other crimes: For *Tiberius* was so much exasperated with his taking armes in Syria, that he resolved to make him an example, not suffring his service to counterpoise the crime.

*Sejanus* regarded not the losse of *Piso*, to he concealed his secret commission; but much he feared, lest seeing himself condemned, he might complain in the Senate of judgement, and at his execution, of the Emperour, and that hee should speak, if not against *Tiberius*, at least against him. The consideration of his children choked in his soul all resentment of the injury he suffered; and seeing himself lost, would be ruined alone. And that their innocency might be distinguished

E from

Who is convinced of one crime, is punished for many. In crimes against the State, there is no compensation or merit for the fault.

The inter-  
est of  
children  
transpor-  
eth Pa-  
rents.

It is a  
madnesse  
to die for  
feare of  
death.

Cæsar fe-  
xo in mæ-  
fitiam ore.  
Tac.

Pleraque  
sapienter,  
quædum in-  
consultive.  
Tac.

from his punishment, he wrote a letter to *Tiberius*, beseeching him to take pity of them, & that done he resolved to die, thrusting his sword thorow his owne throat. Hee died not for feare of death, but, not to satisfie his enemies in the manner. If there be any thing troublesome in a publique death, it is onely the grief, and shame of content therby given to an enemy.

When this death was related to the Senate, *Tiberius* shewed sorrow in his face ; but it was feigned, and to distract the judgments made upon this occasion to his prejudice, and settle his countenance by his discourse, he among other things informed himself of that, which *Piso* had done the day before, and how he spent the night. Some there were who answered with discretion, others more inconsiderately, as upon the like occasions there are some, who cannot endure to be

be accounted so foolish , as not to know that, of which we will they were ignorant.

Hercupon *Tiberius* read the Letters, which *Piso* had written to this purpose. incc, Cæsar, I see my self oppressed by the conspiracy of mine enemies, and the violence of a false accusation, which affordeth no place in the Senate, either for truth, or mine innocency ; the Gods are my witnesses, I have not failed in duty towards you, or reverence to your mother, for which cause I beseech you to think on my chldrn. Gneius *Piso* ought to have no share in my fortune, whatsoever it be ; for he stirred not out of Rome. Marcus *Piso* dissuaded me from going into Syria, and I could wish the Father had accommodated himselfe to the youth of the Sonne, and the sonne not yielded to the age of the Father. This is the cause, why I with the greater instance humbly intreat, his innocency may not feel the punish-

confipi-  
ate mis-  
cione, &  
ixit if si  
crimi- is re-  
tulit, &  
iama- nre  
miquin-  
tus. Tac.  
Quid tan-  
q[ue], for tu-  
mo me con-  
& adiu-  
bus. Tac.

Will p[ro]p-  
riam p[ro]p-  
ter h[ab]itu-  
mus, illucra  
isficitis p[ro]  
li rogo.  
Tac.

Pravitatis  
foecas in-  
noxius non  
laet.

Ex arbore-  
bus quas  
venius, aut  
turbo evul-  
si subole  
residua est  
f vonda.  
Sen.

ment of my obstinacie ; and seeing  
my self in a condition never to bog  
of you again, I conjure you by for-  
ty five years service, by the esteem  
your Father Augustus had of me,  
when I was his Colleague in the  
Consulship, and by the friendship  
you have professed, to preserve my  
poor Sonne.

Hee spake not a word of his  
wife; For how could he remem-  
ber her, who forgat him in this  
extremity, and had perhaps pro-  
mised the Empresse and Sejanus,  
to open the chamber doore for  
murtherers to kill him. Tiberius  
having read these Letters, said;  
Although Piso had deserved the  
misery wherinto hee was falne,  
yet was hee moved to pity, for  
the respect of his house, that it  
was notwithstanding very rea-  
sonable, to preserve the siens of  
the tree which was felled down,  
and not to lay the punishmen:  
on his guiltlesse children, wherof  
absence discharged the one, and

the

the Fathers command excused  
the other; and therfore they not  
lyable to the crime of taking  
armes. Asfor Plancina, hee be-  
sought the Senate to yield her up  
to the prayers of his mother.  
The whole assembly well saw  
the impudency, and impiety of  
this request, good men murmu-  
red against this woman, as the  
cause of Germanicus his death,  
and Pisoes slaughter. Shall then  
(say they) the Empresse have the  
honour to save the murdresse of  
her grand-childe, to visit her, to  
comfort her in the death of her  
husband, to snatch her out of the  
hands of the Senate? The Laws  
will not allow to Germanicus,  
what they grant to the meanest  
Citizen. Vitellius and Veranius,  
who were nothing to Germanicus,  
have bitterly deplored his death,  
and Augusta his grand-mother  
defended Plancina, that hath  
caused it; and what may wee ex-  
pect from hence, but that the force

Patrus jussa  
fities nos  
potest de-  
cideare.  
Tac.

Fab avie  
intersciri-  
com nepotis  
adspicere,  
adloqui,  
erigere Se-  
natui?  
Tac.

Pisina ex  
arresto fuisse  
falsus et  
capitale in  
altruus ex  
sum facili  
eretur. Tac.

Nomina  
celebratio u  
e fastis ra  
desca. Tac.

concessisse  
Plancinæ  
incolumitas  
ob preces  
Augustæ.  
Tac.

of poysons, and witchcrafts, ha  
ving so prosperously succeeded,  
shee likewise will employ them a  
gainst Agrippina, and her chil  
dren, to allay the thirst of the  
Grand-mother and Uncle, with  
the blood of this miserable Fa  
mily, and so satisfie the rage of  
Sejanus.

The opinions summed up, An  
relius Cotta saith, the memory  
of Piso ought to be abolished,  
and his name razed, and blotted  
out of the Calenders, & Annals,  
the moyty of his goods confisca  
ted, the other given to his sonne  
Gneius Piso, with command to  
change his name, Marcus Piso  
deprived of Office, and banished  
for ten yeeres, and to have five  
hundred Sesterces for his enter  
tainment: Life given to Planci  
na in consideration of the Em  
perores request. All consented to  
this opinion.

Tiberius, who had what hee  
desired, sweetneth the rigour of  
this

this judgement : for the hatred  
of Plancina's absolution made  
him lesse severe against the chil  
dren, there being no appearance  
why hee should pardon the mo  
ther a murderesse, and condemne  
the innocent children. Hee saith  
the name of Piso shoulde remayn  
in the Annals, as well as Antbo  
nies, who had invaded his own  
Country. Messalina saith, A gol  
den Ensigne should be railed in  
the Temple of Mars-Avenger,  
and Cæcina Severus an Altar to  
Revenge! No (saith Tiberius) it  
is not good, in victories attchiered  
on strangers, domestique miseries  
should be covered with sadnessse.

Fulcinus Trio, who so lowdly  
had declaimed against Piso, be  
sought the assistance of his fa  
vour, the better to charge the  
accused; he answered, Take heed  
you precipitate not your elo  
quence by the violence of your  
passion. Hee was offended,  
that hee too much had pressed

Padre fa  
git illi prin  
ceps place  
biliar sit.  
Tac.

Nomen  
Marci An  
tonii, qui  
belum pa  
tric fecit,  
fastis men  
se. Tac.  
Urbistica  
mala tristi  
tia operien  
da. Tac.

Faciundia  
non est vi  
lentia pr  
cipitanda.  
Tac.

Rerum hu-  
manarum  
ubique lu-  
dibria.

Tac.

Auditi ex  
senioribus,  
qui ad no-  
stram usque  
juventam  
duraverit.  
Tac.

Elusus à  
Sejano per  
vma p.o-  
missa Piso.  
Tac.

Piso in the matter of poysong; for all the words that were spoken on this subject, touched him ver-ry neer. He wished him to repre-  
sent the passion of Agrippina, without passion in himself. Be-  
hold the vanity of humane pra-  
ctices.

Hereupon Tacitus saith; I re-  
member I have heard it told in  
my youth by those of that time,  
That many pieces had been seen in  
Piso's hand, which he did not pub-  
lish, but that his Friends affirmed  
every where, they contained the  
Commission and command, which  
Tiberius gave him against Ger-  
manicus, and that hee resolved to  
produce them in Senate to con-  
vince the Prince, but that Seja-  
nus had deceived him with faire  
promises, and that hee killed not  
himself, but that one was sent in  
the night, who murdred him.

Death delivered Piso, but  
Tiberius and Sejanus were not  
thought the more innocent, and  
every

every night these cryes were  
heard about the Palace, Give us  
Germanicus.

This death, whether it were  
voluntary, or forced; much aba-  
ted the harred of the people a-  
gainst Piso, and encreased it a-  
gainst Tiberius, the rather that  
he had saved the wife, and ha-  
ving drawn this miserable man  
into a precipice, wold not deliver  
him. If Piso had permitted the  
Laws and Justice to take their  
course, and suffered like a man  
that feared not death, his misery  
would have beene deplored,  
There is no life so odious, which  
ending in publicke with constancy  
and modesty, changeth not hatred  
into pitie, & pitie into favour, lea-  
ving a friendly opinion of inno-  
cence behinde it.

The death of Germanicus gave  
no lesse content to Sejanus and  
Tiberius, for this Prince held all  
their resolutions under controll.  
Tiberius esteemed not himselfe

per noctes  
creberrime  
acclamavit  
est, Redde  
Germani-  
cum. Suet.

Prebe te  
urgibus.  
Sen.

Cōfidence  
lesseth  
the iusta-  
my of pu-  
nishment.

Our enemies in-force us to live regularly and to preserve life irreprehensible as in a strait diet.  
Plut.

In your ex-  
tremes wa-  
re.

Emperour, while hee was alive, and *Sejanus* despaired ever to be so, or to dispose of the Empire, so absolutely as hee afterward did, for this Prince held him short, as one may say, to a strait diet. The good affection he possessed in the mindes of all, both great, mean, and middle sort, much crossed his ambition. But after his death, fortune afforded him a prosperous gale, till pride and inscience rent the sails of his vessel, and designes.

*Tiberius* thought he had more authority, yet was not less distrustfull, imagining that as many Friends as *Germanicus* should leave, were so many conspirators. And therfore often said, he held not the Empire, but as a Wolfe by the eares, fearing he might escape, and escaping bite him. He supposed every man had a purpose to take him out of his hands: he caused the Horoscopes of the principall men of Rome

to

to be calculated, and such as the Stars promised eminence above other, he depressed, banished, or put to death. Hee knew *Galba* might arrive to this point, so that meeting him on the day of his Marriage, he said; *And thou Galba shalt one day taste what Empire is.* Yet he attempted nothing against him, for this dignity seemed fatally destined unto him.

*Sejanus* among the rules of his policy held this ever, to nourish distrust in the soule of *Tiberius*, to the end that not relying on any man he might onely confide in him.

The great houses descended from those brave and generous spirits, which had been sacrificed to preserve the liberty of their Country, were by *Tiberius* (who resolved to raise the absolute sway on the foundations of *Augustus*) suspected, and to *Sejanus* odious, who could not endure verue to oppose his fortune. *Liber*

*Draſſer*

Dion. &  
Tactic.

Liboni  
proavis  
Popeius,  
emita  
Scibonia,  
consobrini,  
Cæsares.  
Tac.

Differrunt  
moiri res  
novas. Tac.

Pro cespita  
p' umbra  
culter.

The little  
hatchet of  
the Sacri-  
ficer.

*Drusus*, as being descended by his Father from *Augustus*, and by his Mother from *Pompey* the great, was one of the principall of the Roman youth, and, as this his birth giving hope to his courage gained him respect among the greatest, so was it the cause of his fall.

His youth prompt, and inconsiderate, transported him to thoughts more haughty, than the times would permit, for which cause he was perpetually had in jealousy by *Tiberius*, so that being at a sacrifice, he commanded the Master of the Ceremonies to give a leaden Knife to *Libo*, who was one of the Sacrificers, lest he might attempt somewhat on his person. Another time demanding audience in secret, he caused his sonne *Drusus* to be called, and counterfeiting to stand in need of support whilst he walked, he held *Libo* (who spake to him) by the right hand, carrying his

his eye steady to observe all his motions. This young man had a Roman Citizen whom he held his intimate Friend, that conspired his ruine; supposing the shortest way to make a fortune, was to overthrow those, who gave cause of suspicion to *Sejanus*. He impressed in this giddy spirit, that there was some great thing designed in Heaven for him, hee led him out to riots, which caused excessive expences, and thole put him into inconveniences, which this wicked Friend sweetned with false hopes. Necessity made him dream on his future fortunes, and that thrust him into the curiosity of knowing from Astrologers, what the Stars promiled him (the ordinary retreat of minds which admit a Master.) Wherfore that he yet might understand more, his Friend brought him to conferre with Magicians, who aske of their spirits what they knew, and

Juvenis  
improvidiis  
& facilis  
innotescit.  
Tac.

Hortatur  
ad luxum,  
& as alienum  
socius  
libidinum.  
& necessi-  
tatum quo  
pluribus in-  
diciis inda-  
geret. Tac.

and never tell truth: for a while after all his hopes were turned into despaire.

The Senatour discovereth all this to *Tiberius*, who is heartily glad to see this young man in the snare, yet desirereth not to shew him a good countenance, affording him the title of *Pretor*, and oft calling him to his Table. Presently after he caused him to be accused in the Senate as of a matter weighty, important, & enormous; behold he is brought into the condition of one accused; he changeth his apparell, the principall Ladies of the City his allies, sollicit for him: There was not a man to be found would speak in his defence; for when any question is made of a Conspiracy against a Prince, all intercessions are suspected, and favours held crimes. Hee went to the Court in a Litter, for this stroke not foreseen, had weakened the forces of his health, and so supported

*Tib. non  
vultu alien-  
natus, non  
verbis com-  
muniior, cu-  
cta ejus di-  
cta fallaq;,  
cum prohi-  
bere posset  
scire malle-  
bat.* Tac.

*& eius obso-  
letius ve-  
nietur.*  
Cic.

It was not permitted to any but the sick to goe in a

ported by his brothers arme, hee entred into the Senate, and a farre off beholding *Tiberius*, stretcheth out his hands, and imploreh mercy with much humility.

*Tiberius* readeth all the points wherof he was accused, it not being perceived either by his countenance or words, that hee had a purpose to sweeten, or exasperate the affaire. The whole matter consisted in things rather curious, than wicked, rather vain than serious, and which more required pity, than correction.

Hee had asked the Southsayers, whether he should ever be so rich, as to be able to cover the Appian way to Brindisi with pieces of money. A list likewise was produced against him, by which it appeared hee had made certain ciphers under the names of *Cesars*, and *Senatours*, as it were a marke upon those hee meant to ruine, and the way how.

litter to  
the gate of  
the Senate  
house.  
*Tiberius*  
comming  
thither the  
sick man  
would  
have no  
train.

*Stolidae &  
vana, & si-  
nelius acci-  
plantur, mi-  
seranda.*  
Tac.

*Quæstio in  
caput domini. Tac.  
More ma-  
jorum de  
servis in  
Dominum  
ne tormentis quiden-  
querilices.  
Cic.*

*Necessarii  
deseruerant  
impid jam  
non reum,  
sed famam.  
Sen.*

*Quid re  
detegat a-  
lienum re-  
gotium fa-  
vere? Sen.*

how. He denketh all. The Senate adviseth his slaves should be put to the torture, but *Tiberius* rich in subtleties, and subtile in inventions, caused them to be sold, therby not to offend the Lawes, which receive them not as witnesses against their Masters.

Hee returneth to his house, born in a Litter, yea, rather his Coffin, for he went to death, nor was there any other difference, but that his Friends denied him this last office, and no creature followed him. He sent a Kinsman of his to *Tiberius* to implore his mercy, but his answer was, he should make his addresse to the Senate, he sought out his Grandmother *Stribonia*, and asked her counsell, whether it were best to hasten his death or expect it. This courageous woman made answer, *Why will you execute the office of another?* Performe your own.

Shee thought it a neglect of ones

ones proper busynesse to live at the direction of another, & that he who expelleth to be led to execution, doth the worke of the hangman : The condition of humane things is wrongfully accused : *Hee that will not himself, is not miserable.* The only sight of viands brought for his laft dainties touched his heart; he resolves to die, calleth one to kill him, pulleth his servants to him, puts the Knife into their hands, praying them to afford him this last office. They deny him, abhorring such a commandement, not so much for pity of him, as of themselves, fearing to be punished ; for although death serve as a remedy for such as beg it, yet is it a crime in those that give it. The more hee pressed and urged them to kill him, the more they retired, and stepping backe overthrew the table, so that the lights which stood theron were extinguished.

This

*Excrucians  
epule in ne-  
vissimam  
vo: upratem  
adhibere.  
Tac.*

*Etiam ubi  
remedium  
est mors,  
felix est  
occidere.  
Sen.P.*

Feralibus  
jam sibi re-  
nebris duos  
ictus in vil-  
cera dire-  
mit. Tac.

This darknesse confirming his resolution , and beginning his owne Funerals, he gave himselfe two stabs with a Knife in the belly, he cryed out, and fell, the whole Family ran up into the Chamber , the souldiers hastened thither , and seeing their work done , departed. When this passage was related to *Tiberius*, he counterfeited sorrow, and sware , if the dead man had let him alone , he had yet been alive , himself being resolved to have pleaded for him.

Confiscation of goods was prosecuted , and the Senate through flattery ( an ancient wound of the Republique) gave them to the accusers , abolished the name, and statues of *Libo*, and put the Ides of September among the solemne Festivals, because on that day the Emperour had been delivered from a great perill. Their was also a Decree made against Mathematicians,

Adulatio,  
verus Reip.  
malum.  
Tac.

Iduum Sep-  
tembrium  
dies quo se  
Libo occi-  
derat festus  
Tac.

and Magicians, and *Lucius Pittu-*  
*anius* who was of this unhappy profession , was thrown headlong from the top of the *Tar-*  
*peian* hill. Their banishment was but renewed again; for it had before been decreed ; they should forsake Italy , in that through a deceitfull knowledge of starres, they abused vaine and idle people.

*Sejanus* was freed from Princes, Pretors, and Senators, he was willing Rome should know, there was not any condition of men exempt from fear of his fortune and power ; hee presently layes hold on the Philosophers, as those whose lives hee hated for innocency , and whose tongues he dreaded for liberty. He banisheth *Attalus* a Stoick Philosopher , a man of singular integrity of life, admirable eloquence, and incomparable learning; The sect of Stoicks being a most worthy and venerable company,

Caldæi  
pluribus at-  
que ineptis  
ingenius sy-  
derum fal-  
laci inter-  
pretatione  
questusam  
mendacis  
suis Caligi-  
rem injici-  
unt. Val.  
Attalus  
Stoicus so-  
lum veris  
à Sejano  
circumscri-  
ptus, mag-  
ne vir elo-  
quentie, ex  
philosophis,  
subtilissi-  
mus. Sen.  
P.

*Malitia  
maximam  
pariem sui  
venenibus.*

*Quiquid  
expetienti-  
bus fortuna  
projecit, id  
sine ulla  
voluptate  
dimicimus,  
statim ad  
rapinam  
alterius  
erediti, &  
attinui.  
Sen.*

ny, and as different from others as men from women, I cannot imagine wherin he erred, but in that *Sejanus* tooke to himselfe in particular, what he meant to all in generall, when he said, that he who offended others, first displeased himselfe, and that the wicked man taketh the first draught of his own poysone; was not this to tell *Sejanus*, that all his violencies returned on himself, as rivers to their source? When he said men were unsatiable, and that having received some benefits from fortune, they presently beg others, as dogs, who no sooner swallow one morsell, but they instantly gape for another, discovered not hee this gulf of greedinesse, who having ruined one Family, threatened another?

This Tyger shewed his hatred against the choice wits of his time: A Poet having written some few free words against him,

him, was put death, not for that, but because in a Tragedy he had injured *Agamemnon*, and spoken against the honour of Kings: *Tiberius* punished the offences committed against *Sejanus*, as rigoreously as those that concerned himself, he was periwaded hee himselfe received the counterbuffe of all that, which wounded him. Princes are offended, when their Favourites are blamed, because it seems to them the weaknessle of their judgment is condemned, in the election of a subject unworthy of their favour. The workman is bound to defend his workmanship. The Painter is troubled, if durt be cast on the picture hee hath drawne. Old faults are sought out, to make new examples of leverity. The Senate decreed the Statue of *Sejanus* should be erected in *Pompey's* Theater, which *Tiberius* had re-edified. *Cremutius Cordus* vexed with this in-jury

*Quod in  
tragedia  
Agamem-  
nonem  
probris la-  
cessisset.  
Suct.*

*Hec who  
blameth  
the favour  
of a prince  
condem-  
neth his  
judgment.*

*Quis non  
riempet ar-  
supa cinc-  
res Gn.  
Pompei  
constituere  
Sejanum?  
Sen.*

*Novum, ac  
primum  
Auditum  
crimen.  
Tac.*

Plut.

The cre-  
dit of ac-

jury done to the memory of Pompey, cryed out aloud, it was not to re-edifie, but to destroy, thus to set Sejanus above the heads of the Romans, to raise a mean Souldier upon the monument of a prime Captaine. Hee spake truth, but *Verity excuseth not the imprudence of those, who inconsiderately are transported into the censure of great ones.* Sejanus beareth this in minde, and accuseth him not therof at all, but dispatcheth Tiberius to enquire into his life, all the parts of which were found innocent and commendable. But his writings were examined, and an History he composed of *Augustus*, and which *Augustus* himselfe had read. He was accused not to have sufficiently honoured *Cesar*, and *Augustus*; too much praised *Brutus*, and called *Cassius* the last of the Romans.

His accusers were *Satrus*, *Se-  
cundus*, and *Pinarius Natta*,  
cre-

creatures of *Sejanus*, and this quality made the ruine of this man accused most infallible, and thrust his innoeancy into desperation. Yea, the Judge himselfe made him perceive by his stern countenance, & words of reproof, that he sat there, not to heare, but to condemne him; not to arraigne, but to appoint his execution: *Cordus* likewise came not thither to save his own life, for he was certain to lose it, but for the honour of truth, and the glory of his writings. Hee spake in this manner.

### *Cordus his Speech.*

**M**Y actions are so farre innocent, that nothing is questioned, but my words, and yet they offend neither the Emperour, nor his Mother, who only are comprized in the Law of Majestie. It is said I prayed *Brutus*, and *Cassius*, whose actions are regis-  
tered

cusers is  
the despair  
of the ac-  
cused,  
*Sejanus di-  
cenes perni-  
ciebiles rea.*  
Tac.

Innocen-  
cie of acti-  
ons should  
excuse the  
folly of  
words.

*Verba mea  
arguantur,  
ad eo sum  
factorum  
innocens.*  
Tac.

There is not an historian, which becomes not passionate on one side, or other.

*Scipio* a man worthy of all warlike commendation.  
*Plus.*

*Afranius*, Lieutenant of Pompey against the Parthians & the Arabians.  
*Plus.* *Cassius* an enemy of Tyrants from his infancie.  
*Plus.*

stred by many, nor is there any one hath mentioned them, but to their honour. *Titus Livius*, to whom the price of eloquence, and truth is attributed, hath so highly commended Pompey, that Augustus called him the *Pompeyan*: which never impaired the friendship contracted between them.

Hee useth not those names of Thieves and Parricides, which now are imposed on Scipio and Altanius, on Brutus, and Cassius; but often stiles them brave, and excellent men. The Historie of *Afinius Pollio* makes an honorable mention of them: *Mesalla Corvinus* extolled Cassius as his Generall, yet both the one and other have bin powerfull in riches, and honours. *Cæsar* the Dictator was pleased to answer in an Oration by writing (as before his Judges) to a Book which Cicero made, to raise Cato his enemy as high as heare. The Epistles of *Anthony*, the speeches of Brutus ob-

ject

ject to Augustus things false, and relate them with much sharpnes, and animositic. Men spare not to reade the verses of *Bibaculus*, and *Catullus*, though farced with injuries against the *Cælars*. *Iulius* and *Augustus* have permitted, and scorned them. And I cannot well tell, whether they have shewed more moderation, than misdome therein. For slanders passe away, if they be despised; and seeme avowed, it relented. I speak not at all of the Grecians, for not onely their liberty, but temerity also hath been unpunished, and if any one hath blimed it, words have revenged words. But it always hath beene a matter of freedome, and without reprehension to speake of those, whom death hath enfranchized from h.c.t., or favour. Can any man say, that I with my Oration excise the people to rebell, and take arms; for civill warre while Brutus and Cassius are armed in the Phili-

F pick

*Ernest* wel willed by the people, beloved of his own, esteemed of honest men, and hated by none. See the E-pigram 20 of *Cælius*.

*Corvilia*  
*Bretta ex-*  
*languit, si*  
*valere c.e.z -*  
*nica videt -*  
*w. Tac.*

pick fields? It is now threescore & sixteen years, since they died: As they are knowne by the Statues, which their victorious selves erected, so writings have preserved their memories. Posterity redreth everyone the honour, which belongs to him, and if I be condemned, there may those be found, who will not onely remember Brutus, and Cassius, but mee also.

Hee had reason to adorne his discourse with examples of Cesar and Augustus. For the world hath never seen any thing equall to this their generous bounty in pardoning slanders. *Calvus* the Orator, and *Citullus* the Poet, desperately detracted Cesar: Truth settled shames fastnesse on their foreheads, and repentance in their consciences. Cesar was satisfied with it, and seeing *Calvus* desired his friendship, and durst not entreat it, in an express Letter he offered it himself: As

Caio Calvo p̄st famoja Epigr.  
ac reconciliacione per  
amicos a-  
genti uirid  
ac prior  
scripsit.  
Suet.

for

for *Catullus*, hee invited him to supper the same day he published his Poem against him.

For *Augustus*, I finde none to paralell him: *Timagines* a noble Historian, wrote against him, his wife, daughters, and all his Family. Hee adviseh him to use his pen and tongue with more moderation, especially concerning his house and friends: for *Augustus* had bred him up. O extreme ingratitude! He persevers. *Augustus* enforced to take notice hereof, wisheth him to retire. *Afinius Pollio*, esteeming more the promptnesse of this wit, than his dutie to the Emperour, lodgeth, and entertaineth him. *Timagines* absolutely declares himself an enemy of *Augustus*, burneth that notable History, which hee had compo'ed of his Reigne, affirming hee deserved not to be remembred at all, and that the good hee had delivered of him, was altogether

Valerius  
Citullus  
perpetuus  
stigmata  
suis ver-  
culis impa-  
sus Cæsari.  
Suet.

Timage-  
nem Ce-  
sar me uit,  
ut modera-  
tius lingue  
uteretur,  
persevera-  
ti, domo sua  
vate dixi:  
populi in  
comitabim  
Pollio's  
confusus.  
Sen.

Fiuere mi  
Pollio  
fuerit.

Sublime ja-  
stat in ci-  
tate libera  
languem  
minterque  
liberas eft  
dibet.  
Suet.

ther falle. *Augustus* swallowed all this, and was pleased to say to *Pollio*; You nourish a Serpent. But *Pollio* desirous to reply in his excuse: He stopped his mouth, saying, *My friend keepe him, make use of him*. Is it possible, that Rome should grieve to lose it's liberty under such a Prince? It afterward found by deare experience what it lost in the change: It was the same flock, but not the same Shepherd.

We may well say *Sejanus* had strangely corrupted the nature of *Tiberius*, making him foſe-vere in the punishment of injuries done to his Predeceſſours, who tooke ſo small account of his own, and who often ſaid, that in free Cities tongues ſhould not be restrained. *Augustus* gave him this counſell; for upon the point of blaming his diſſimulation in the matter of unbridled liberty, uſed in depraving of him, hee wrote these words:

words: Sonne *Tiberius*, flatter herein neither your youth, nor anger, to beleieve that any man ſpeaks ill of me: It is enough we can ſo handle matter, they ſhall do us no hurt.

As for himſelfe, hee slighted the Satyres, and bitter jests were diuulg'd of him; & when hereupon the Senate would give information, he laid: We haue not ſo much ſpare time, as to trouble our ſelves with theſe trifles, and if wee ſhall open this window, wee need to do nothing elſe, and you ſhall be perpetually importuned with an infinite number of particular complaints.

*Cordus* then having ſpoken ſo boldly and elegantly, retired to his house much unreſolved what he ſhould do. If he would live, he muſt beg of *Sejanus*; if die, of his daughter: Both are inexorable. His courage not ſuffering him to proſtrate himſelf to the one, hee reſolved to deceiver

F 3 the

Satis eft fi  
loc habe.  
muſe ne quis  
no. is mante  
facer apud  
ſt. D. Aug.

Nen iā am  
liberius  
atū P. C. M  
imp. c. 13  
c. 1. pl. 1. 1. 1  
neg. 1. 1. 1  
ſententia. p  
ban. f. ne  
Pram. rec-  
vuntur in  
ital. abud. ags  
ſt. v. D.

Tib.

Si rive  
veret, Se-  
janus ro-  
gatus ſe-  
rat; ſi mori,  
ſili; uerg.  
inex rabilis;  
conſiunt  
ſiliam fallo-  
re. Sen.

At the coming out of a bath, they brought to their chambers sweet wine with new laid egges.

*Quædam per sensum & ut videtur edisse projectit a cena, deinde quasi jam facis in cubiculo edisset abstinuit. Sen.  
Hon. ini non ante septimum diem letalis iuxta: durasse, & ultra undecimum*

the other. And that hee might not discover his purpose, hee for certaine dayes taketh the bath, and the better to beguile his daughter, he afterward withdrawes into his chamber to take his refecction, and sending his ser-vants away, throws out of the window some part of that which was brought him, to make them believe it was the remaynder of what hee had eaten. The hour of supper arrived, he telleth his daughter hee had no appetite to eat, that his former collation served him for supper; shee urgeth him no fur-ther, supposing it true, and little imagining the thing shee appro-ved for his health, should hasten his death.

Hee continueth this rigorous deceit untill the fourth day, that his owne weaknesse discovered it. Extreme sorrow conspired with his abstinence, which had not otherwile power sufficient

to

to overthrow him in so few days; for hunger will not kill a man in so short a space.

His daughter thus deceived, conjureth him by her prayers and teares, to live both for her and himself. This prayer came too late. His life was now almost wholly wasted, hee is upon the last houre: at which time embracing his daughter, hee laid:

*Martia, I am too farre onward in the way of death, to retire back; I have gone almost the one halfe of it: you neither ought, nor can withhold me.*

Which spoken, he caused the lights to be put out, that hee might the more quietly hide himself, and creep away in the dark. His servants seeing his resolution so absolute & forward, were no whit sorry, the wolves had failed of their prey. At which time the accusers ran by the commandement of Sejanus to the Consuls to tell them that

F 4

Cer-

*plerisque certum est.  
Plin.*

The last houre causeth not death, but finisheth it.

*Icer moris ingressus sum, & sum mecum ferre renes; revocare me, nec debet, nec possiles. Sen.*

*Ex fauibus audiissimo-rum luporum educitur præda. Sen.*

Fragna res  
erat in  
questione,  
an mortis  
rei perde-  
re tardum  
deliberatur,  
dum accusa-  
tores iherū  
aduent, ille  
se absolu-  
rat. Sen.  
Scripta au-  
torum et ami-  
cates. D.o.  
Vir Roma-  
nus qui sub-  
actis jam  
ca vicibus  
omnium, &  
ad Sejani  
jugum ab-  
actis inde-  
mitus, sit  
bono inge-  
nio, animo,  
manu liber.  
Tac.  
Presenti po-  
tencia non  
extinguitur  
sequentis  
evi mem-  
oria. Tac.

*Cordus* had killed himselfe, to wit, had escaped them: This question was then debated, Whether one might hinder the accused to make themselves away? but whilst this was disputed to resolve it, & condemne him, he freeth himself.

His Books were burnt by the Aediles, the calamity of the Author, and excellencie of the stile rendered them the more illustrious, and made them sought after, and studied with the more curiositie. *Martia* preserveth, and presents them to the world to renew the memory of her father, who had written them in his own bloud, had stood firme and invincible when every man else offered his head under the yoke of *Sejanus*, and had with hand, discourse and judgement, maintained ancient liberty. Princes deceive themselves when they grow passionate to abolish Books which displease them,

them, prohibition addes desire, and difficulty maketh good the curiositie. If feare suppresseth them during their life, they appeare more confident, when they themselves are no more. The affliction of Writers augmenteth the reputation of their labours: punishment is odious; he that inflicteth it, is blamed, and who suffers it, receiveth honour.

And it is well for us this fury against Bookes began not till under *Tiberius*, for what would it have been, if the *Triumvirs* had proscribed or burnt those of *Cicero*? *Caligula* caused the Works of *Cordus* to be revived, and thought himself interested, that posterity might know the lives and gests of his predec-sors.

What a contentment is it, to reade the History of so worthy a pen, written with a courage to free, and confident, and in such a manner as bee offered

punitis in-  
geniis gliscit  
auoritas.  
Tac.

R.P. inie-  
ret, ut fe-  
cta queque  
perpetrata  
inventur.  
Suet.

it to the Senate, not unlike the scantling which Seneca tooke upon the death of Cicero, in these termes.

Anthony received much satisfaction when Ciceroes head was brought him, and said his proscription was at an end, for hee was not onely glutted, but tyred with the massacres of so many men. He commanded it to be exposed to the view of the people in their Rostra, in the same place where they, drawn by the reputation of his excellency, thronged to follow him, and where they had heard his elaborate discourses which saved somany heads. Hee is now at this present beheld by his fellow Citizens, neither in the joy, nor manner as they admired him heretofore (alive & entire) but with bloud, which all embrued his head, and disfigured his countenance. This head which of late swayed in Senate, and was the ornamet of the Roman name,

servis

Non satia-  
cua modo  
cedendis ci-  
vibus sed  
defellus.  
Sen.P.  
P. is conci-  
nibus mihi-  
co uncapita-  
ta si tu re-  
rat. Sen.P.

Manus de-  
tra eloquē-  
tie ministra  
Sen. P.

serves as a recompence for him, who disfervered it from his body. All hearts were melted into tears and fighes, when his right hand was beheld (the instrument of his divine eloquence) fastened to this head. The death of others was not bewailed but by particulars: The sorrow for this man was generall. We ought not onely to believe the greatnessse, but admire the infinite number of his vertues. He lived as Brutus Cassius, and Sextus Pompeius; saying : All things displease me, but death alone.

Cordus wrote the history of his time, and perhaps seeing the truth most pure for posterity, had spoken for the honour of those, who died for the defence of ancient liberty; for (verily) the fear of death excuseth not him, who offendeth truth to flatter fortune. To publishing histories, or give false instructions to those that write them, is to rob passengers on the high way in

Cicerorum  
caedes pri-  
varum  
luctus exci-  
taverunt,  
illa una  
communem.  
Sen.P.

Opimè me-  
us de po-  
bis ad  
quis veniet  
inecriupia  
r. cum fides  
Sen.

good earnest. Hee retaining the same liberty in his discourses he had done in his Writings, contyned the pride of *Sejanus*, and to free him selfe from the hands of a man so potent, made it appear he was reall, and exempt from the number of the miserable.

This Calamity was not so frequent among the Romans when *Germanicus* lived; these two Lions did (as yet) restrain their pawes, feare tempered the actions of *Tiberius*, and necessity with-held the insolence of *Sejanus*. *Dion* saith whilst *Germanicus* lived, *Tiberius* did nothing at any time of his own head. He referred all manner of affaires to the Senate, he ministred justice by the advice of those who assisted him, allowed every one should deliver his opinion, endured contradiction, and sometime suffered to be cut off in his opinions.

He

*Dion* saith  
that opini-  
ons often  
passed cur-  
rant a-  
gainst his,  
hee not  
therwith  
offended.

He would not be called Lord, but by slaves, nor Emperour but of Souldiers, he absolutely refused the name of father of the Countrey, he gave way in discourse, and petitions to the title of *Augustus*, used it in the dispatches he made to Kings, and in all occasions else was contented with the name of *Cesar*, and Prince of the Senate: His ordinary wish was, that Heaven would grant him life so long, as the Common-wealth should stand in need of his service.

Whilst *Germanicus* lived, the day of his birth was not solemnized, no man sware by his fortune, no Statue nor Temple was erected to him. When hee went thorow the City, he desired not to be attended either by Senator, Patrician, or Roman Knight, or any man of quality, in all things demeaning himselfe, as if hee lived under a popular government, yea, hee descended even

*Tiberius*  
said I am  
Lord of  
slaves,  
Emperour  
of souldi-  
ers, & over  
the rest a  
Prince.

All that  
was done  
during the  
life of *Ger-  
manicus*,  
but after  
his death  
all was  
changed.

Ambition  
for a long  
time  
makes it  
self little,  
to become  
great.

The Em-  
perour  
*Augustus* to  
please Li-  
via banish-  
ed him to  
the Ile of  
Planasia.  
*Veritas vi-  
su, & mo-  
ra, false  
festinatione  
incertia va-  
lescunt.*  
Tac.

even to the making of funerall  
Orations for particular men.

If hee exercised any violence,  
it was cloaked and coloured  
with semblances of reason, or  
necessity, or if it were secret, it  
appeared not at all. *Clemens* a  
famous Impostor had slaine his  
Master *Agrippa Posthumus*, the  
grand-child of *Augustus*, and  
because he was much of his age,  
and stature, hee caused the bruit  
therof privately to run as a thing  
dangerous, and afterward pub-  
likely (as a matter acceptable)  
that *Agrippa* was alive: for it  
was true, the Mother of the Em-  
perour, had made him away pre-  
sently after the death of *Augu-  
stus*, whose memory was so pre-  
cious and venerable, that under  
this name hee found friends in  
Gallia, succours in Italy, and  
credit in Rome, the people pro-  
clayming and believing the  
Gods had reserved him for the  
good of the Empire.

Ti-

*Tiberius* considering that ru-  
mour, and his levity gave coun-  
tenance to this fiction, and that  
it could not so slenderly be be-  
lieved, but it would prejudice  
his affaires, commanded him to  
be attatched by those who fained  
to be of his faction. Being  
brought before him, hee won-  
dered hee so cunningly had man-  
aged this imposture, demanding  
of him, by what title art thou  
made *Agrippa*? The gallant an-  
swereith by the same thou hast  
made thy self *Cesar*. Torments  
could not evict from him the  
names of his complices, and al-  
though *Tiberius* knew hee had  
been assited both with money  
and counsell by the greatest, hee  
enquired no further of them.  
But caused him to be put to  
death without further noise.

*Tiberius* then had reason to  
account the death of *Germani-  
cus* amongst the best days of his  
own life, and *Sejanus* reckoned

*Percum  
Etanti Fi-  
berio quo-  
modo A-  
grippa sa-  
tus esset,  
respondisse  
fertur? Quo  
modo tu  
Cæsar.*  
Tac.  
*Inanis cre-  
dulitas  
tempore  
ipso vane-  
scit.* Tac.

ie

Neronem  
et liberis  
Germanici  
jam in-  
gressum ju-  
ventam, co-  
mendavit  
Paribus  
non sine ri-  
su audienc-  
tium. Tac.

Congiarium  
pleb. Tac.

it one of the greatest steps to his fortune, but the same malice they bare to the father continued against the children, yet endevouring all they could possibly to dissemble it, to the end it might seasonably appeare, in the mean time covering it with large demonstrations of affection towards them. *Tiberius* prayeth the Senate to give *Nero* a dispensatio of age that he might enter into publike Offices, and be able at fifteene yeeres to become Questor, which is not granted but at two and twenty. He was also created *Pontifex*, and the day hee entred into this dignity, hee made a donative of provisions to the people, who much rejoice to behold the children of *Germanicus* in a flourishing state of youth. For full accomplishment of alacrity, hee espouleth *Favia* the daughter of *Drusus*.

But she grew disdainfull when  
she

heard the daughter of *Sejanus* was promised to *Drusus* the sonne of *Claudius*; esteeming this noble Family was dishonored by such an alliance, and that it gave but too much hope to a man, who already had overmuch power, and who accounted himself unhappy if he commanded not, impatient to live as a private person. The heavens unwilling to derive fruit from so bad a tree, disposed therof otherwise. *Drusus* sporting in the City of *Pompey* threw a pear up into the aire, and receiving it againe with open mouth was strangled, and this daughter participating in the disastrous end of her father, made her wedding Song, at the foot of the gallowes, as in his due place shal be seen. The hatred was so enraged against *Sejanus*, that some said hee made this marriage to destroy his sonne in law.

This opinion could have no other

*Utile se-  
cundis, ita  
hoc adver-  
anis ac-  
ceptum.  
Tac.*

*Jason the  
Tyrant  
of Phe-  
rez said  
hee died  
for hun-  
ger, if hee  
arrived  
not at Ty-  
ranny, for  
hee could  
not live a  
foole, that  
is to say a  
private  
man.*

*Minor fuis-  
se qui tra-  
derent à  
Sejanu re-  
scatam.  
Suct.*

Vaine is  
the prayse  
which  
comes not  
from a  
prayse  
worthy  
man.  
*Secreta vi-  
ri, corrupta  
uxore pro-  
duntur.*  
Tac.

ther foundation , but that this young Prince discovered too much contempt of this Alliance, or too much scorn to be the Son in law of a man so odious, who had no honour in him; his Ancestors or himselfe, having acquired nothing , hee could leave nought to his children , and received praise but only from those, whom hee himselfe durst not commend.

*Drusus* could not brooke this insolence, nor that his father *Tiberius* should preferre Counsels and forrain affections before naturall. Hee spared not to say to his wife, who betrayed him, and to his friends , who deceived him, that *Sejanus* was almost become a Colleague, as he hath hitherto been a Coadjutor of *Tiberius*, and his children the Allies of *Drusus*: That his ambition hath deepe aymes, that hee will not rest there: For, *The first hopes of predominance are diffi-*

difficult, but when one is arrived thither, meanes to mayntaine it will never be wanting. He often spake this, and unto many , they were his ordinary complaints. *A minde perplexed ceaseth not to expostulate, and ever layes the hand upon the wound.*

He conceived an extreme hatred against *Sejanus*: He was so ready to strike, that they surname him *Cæsar*, and not being able any longer to endure this man , who made himselfe his companion , hee lifted up his hand with threats, and the other disposing himselfe to defence, presented his to stay the blow, whereupon *Drusus* strucke him on the cheek. *Dion* and *Zonaras* write, that *Sejanus* smote *Drusus*, but there is no appearance, he uled this hardinesse against the sonne of the Emperour, young, courageous , associated to the Empire, and holding the Tribuniall power, the greatest next the Sovereigne.

A

*Prima do-  
minandi  
spes in ar-  
duo, ubi sis  
ingressus  
ad uit Ru-  
dia, & mi-  
nifri. Tac.*

Surnames  
are given  
according  
to natures,  
for which  
cause *Dion*  
saith, *Dru-  
sus* was  
surnamed  
*cæsar*, and  
keene  
swords  
were cal-  
led *Drusi-  
ans*.  
*Tribunitia,*  
*potestas*  
*summi fa-  
bigi voca-  
batur. Tac.*

A blow should be answered with a poynard, but strokes which come from the hand of a Prince ought to be received with patience and humility. Hee that can kill, obligeth when he only woundeth. This disgust so fresh reneweth those, which by processe of time were (as I may say) withered in the soule of *Sejanus*. Yet the History relateth not hee made any complaint, or that *Tiberius* reproved his sonne, so to have injured him whom he had selected above all, for assistance to support the principall burthens of Empire: For it is ever an ill way to seeke out occasions, which may irritate the Emperour against the Prince.

Not daring to complain, hee resolved to be revenged, and as revenge is ever witty, to lay hold of the means how to satisfie the offended, hee could finde no fitter wedge to cleave this knot, but to make it of the same wood, and

*Tiberius Sejanum singularem principaliū orerum ad iutorem in omnia habuit. Vell.*

and gain the wife to ruine the husband. She was faire, but her beauty accorded not well with her honour. Shee consenteth to the earnest sollicitations of *Sejanus*, to whom none denied any thing, because *Tiberius* gave him all. Familiarity drew on affection, that which at first was nought else but love, becomes adultery, and adultery witchcraft. A most strange blindness: The Niece of *Augustus*, daughter in law of *Tiberius*, daughter of *Drusus*, sister of *Germanicus*, wife of the Emperours sonne, mother of two Princes, in possibility of Empire, blemishest her honour, disgraceth her house, to consent to the lusts of an ordinary Citizen. But glorious beauties will be admired, and powerfull favours sought unto. *Sejanus* could doe all by his favour, *Livia* was beloved of all for her beauty. To aske why that which is beautifull is affected, Is the question

*Rara est concordia forme, atq; pudicitie.*  
Juven.

*Si, ac maiores, & posteros municipali adulterio suscitabat.*  
Tac.

Vpon the demand made unto *Aristotle*, why wee love that which is faire, hee answered, It is a blinde mans question.

*Femina a. missi: pudicitia, a. et sagititia non abnuit.*  
Tac.

The fort  
which par-  
leyes, is  
halfe ren-  
dered.

question of a blinde man: but it is to have eyes no where but in the head, to wish great men may not do what they please.

Having then the body at his dispose, he managed the heart as hee list: The first crime made way for all the rest. When a woman hath forsaken her chastitie, shee hath nothing left either to lose, or deny. Love made her an adulteresse, Ambition a murderesse, and the passage is confident from the one to the other. *Sejanus* infuseth into her minde a desire to become the Emperours wife, she believes he is able to make good what he sayes; for *Tiberius* reigned not, but in his person, and at his pleasure. Shee heareth, and taileth it, and the delight she sheweth therein by her attention, is not farre distant from her consent. Their likings concurring for love, unite for marriage, and for that purpose they conspire to dissolve all ob-  
stacles:

stacles: *Sejanus*, by the divorce of *Apicata*, and *Livia* by the death of *Drusus*.

But as Great mischiefs cannot so quickly be hatched (for feare draweth on irresolution, affrightment invites slacknesse, and distance of time augmenteth difficulties) they had not so much trouble to resolve on the act, as to find out the means, and manner. Order, and seccrecie, which ought to be exactly observed in matters important were not omitted in this wicked plot. They resolved to poyon him: and weighing with themselves, if the poyon were given in his meat, some others (perhaps) might be surprized, and decei-ved therwith, they advised to give it in some medicine which he was to take, and that it should have so slow operation, that death would be imputed to nature, or accident, and not to treason, and violence.

*Magnitu-  
do facinoris  
metum,  
prolatio, in-  
terdum di-  
versa consi-  
lia adfer.  
Tac.*

*Livia*

Eudemus  
amicus, ac  
medicus  
Liviae, spe-  
cie artis  
frequens se-  
crevis. Tac.  
Adulteria  
etiam in  
principum  
domibus, ne  
Eudemius in  
Liviae  
Drusi Cæ-  
sar. Plin.  
Rumor Se-  
janum  
Lygdi pse-  
donis ani-  
mum stupro-  
viciisse.

Jupiter  
saith to  
Promethe-  
us, he de-  
served to  
have his  
heart, and  
liver de-  
voured.

*Livia* therein employed *Eu-  
demus* her Physician, who for  
his qualitie, and by the favour  
of his profession, had ordinary  
accesse to her Cabinet. *Tacitus*  
saith hee was her friend, *Pliny*  
her Adulterer. *Sejanus* gaineth  
*Lygdes* the Eunuch, one of the  
chiefest & most trusty household  
servants of *Drusus*, and to tie  
his heart more straitly to  
him, villanously abuseth his bo-  
dy, hee being both young, and  
handsome. The wretches con-  
spire in this execrable attempt:  
the murderous *Sejanus* plotteth  
it, *Livia* the Adulteresse gives  
consent, *Eudemus* the Ratfin  
compoundeth the drug, & *Lyg-  
des* the Catamite presenteth it.  
Foure creatures, who deserve  
their hearts which formed, and  
conceived this prodigious assas-  
sinate on the sole sonne of the  
Prince, should everlastingely be  
devoured by gnawing Vultures.  
They all miserably perished, and

fo

so may all those Faries, who  
trayterously attempt on Prin-  
cesses.

*Drusus*, without distrust, takes  
this deadly poysone from the  
hand of *Lygdes* his Eunuch, and  
that which hee thought would  
have confirmed health, hastens  
death: but so slowly that the  
languishment, and length took  
away the suspcion of poysone.  
Time, which in the end disco-  
vereth all things, drew truth out  
of darknesse, and *Apicata* the  
wife of *Sejanus*, eight yeares af-  
ter gave the first notice. It is an  
admirable thing, that a woman  
of a great spirit wounded in her  
honour, and banished from the  
company of her husband by an  
Adulteresse, could so long be si-  
lent, but this discourse shall not  
be ended, till this wonder be sa-  
tisfied.

The actions of *Sejanus* were  
so exploded, and *Tiberius* for fa-  
vouring him so hated, that alrea-

G dy

Ordo sele-  
ctus per Ap-  
icatam Se-  
jano predi-  
catus tormen-  
sis Eude-  
mi, ac Lyg-  
di patet.  
Tac.

*Sejanus  
fascinorum  
omnium re-  
reptor  
babebatur  
ex nimia  
cb ritate is  
cum Cæ-  
sar. Tac.  
Druso ig-  
naro, & ju-  
venilice  
bauriente  
pculum;  
cunctis su-  
spicio tan-  
quam me-  
tu, & podo-  
re sibimet  
arrogaret  
mortem,  
quam patri  
finxerat.*

Tac.  
Hee who  
made as-  
say was  
called in  
anciet in-  
scriptions  
*Aperione,*  
or *Pri-ge-  
bator*, by

dy being branded with so re-  
markable, and notorious villa-  
nies, it was thought he had put  
*Drusus* to death by the hand of  
*Tiberius*, suggesting that his Son  
out of desire to rule, had resolv-  
ed on his death, and that it  
were sic he took heed, when hee  
dined at his table, not to drinke  
the first draught, which should  
be presented unto him: that *Ti-  
berius* taking the cup from the  
Tasters hand, offered it to *Drusus*,  
and that shame and feare  
not suffering him to refuse it, he  
swallowed downe the poysone  
prepared for his Father: An im-  
posture without appearance, or  
foundation.

This impious act could not so  
easily have been perpetrated by  
*Drusus*, for the Father tasted no-  
thing without assay, which cu-  
stome was brought from the  
Persian Court, into the Palaces  
of the Roman Emperours since  
*Augustus* his time. Make *Tibe-  
rius*

*rius* as cruell as you wil, yet can-  
not the honour of a wise, cun-  
ning, and wary Prince be taken  
from him, and well hee might  
have been condemned of much  
imprudence, if he had plotted to  
make his sonne away, by the  
meer advice of *Sejanus*, and be-  
fore hee were exactly informed  
of the cause, and confederates of  
this conspiracy.

This onely proceedeth from  
the malignity of rumours, little  
favorable to the actions of Prin-  
ces. All which *Tiberius* hath  
done, is curiously collected, and  
published; but never hath there  
beene creature so transported  
with hatred and passion, to di-  
honour his memory, as to re-  
proach him with **Parricide**. We  
ought not to receive all which  
bruit approveth, without suspisci-  
on, nor to preferre things inredi-  
ble, (although divulged, and  
greedily entertained) before real  
truth, though oft times disguised.

G 2 with

*Xenophō,  
Oinoche-  
os. Tac.*

*Atrociar  
temper fa-  
ma erga de-  
minantium  
exitus.*

Tac.

*Divulgata  
aque in-  
credibilis  
audē ac-  
cepta, non  
sunt ante-  
bidera  
veris, neque  
mirabilium  
errup-  
tis. Tac.*

with apparant semblances, and  
frivolous wonders, to imprese a-  
mazement on mindes.

*Simulatio  
bebitum.ac  
voxes dolen-  
tium in-  
duit. Tac.*

This death once againe resto-  
red the hope of succession to the  
children of *Germanicus*; and  
though the Senate for their love  
to *Tiberius*, deplored this acci-  
dent, yet were their teares fai-  
ned, and passion without sor-  
row. There was not a man but  
was well pleased to see, that by  
this death the house of *Augustus*  
began to re-flourish. *Druſus* like-  
wise was not beloved, but for  
the inveterate hatred they bare  
to his Father; for hee was much  
debauched, and as the vice of an-  
other displeaseth even the viti-  
ous, his Father oft chid him for  
these insolent, and haughty hu-  
mours, which made him to be  
most quarrelsome, and cruell. But  
the people excused all that, say-  
ing, It were better hee shoud  
passe the night in feasts, the day  
in Theaters, than to languish in  
the

*Aſegillator  
coyomoratus  
Dion.  
Stlus, &  
nullis vo-  
luptatibus  
avocatus,  
metam vi-  
gilantium  
& malae  
curas ex-  
erct. Tac.*

the melancholy of solitude, pen-  
sive vigils, & pernicious amuse-  
ments.

Presently the teares of *Tibe-  
rius* being dried up, hee went to  
the Senate to seek out consolati-  
on in affairs, and seeing the Se-  
nators sit low, he caused them  
to ascend, putting them in mind  
of the reverence of the place,  
and the dignity of their charges,  
and used his speech to raise up  
their spirits, which sorrow had  
dejected.

*Sirs, I may perhaps be con-  
demned, that in ſo fresh a morrow, I  
here am present, and well I wot,  
that thofe who are in grief brook  
not day light, nor condolemant of  
their friends moft neer: But as I  
ascribe not this to weakeſſe of  
heart, ſo I deſire to let you know,  
that I have not ſought out a  
greater eſte in mine affliction,  
than the Embraces of the Com-  
mon-wealh.*

He also ſaid, that the decrepit

*Negotia  
pro ſolatiis.  
The Con-  
ſuls ſate  
on their  
Selle ex-  
cules, & the  
Senators  
low, and  
after them  
the Pra-  
tors, and  
Tribunes.  
The cu-  
ſome of  
mourning  
was, not  
to stirre  
out of the  
house, nor  
behold  
day light.  
Vix dies a  
placisque  
lugentium  
aſpiciuntur.  
Tac.*

Germanici liberi u-  
nica pre-  
sentium  
malorum  
levigata.

Tac.

Egressi con-  
suos firma-  
tos eloquio  
adolescen-  
tibus, deduc-  
tisque an-  
te Cæsarē  
salutant.

Tac.

age of the Empresse, took from him the hope of her assistance, that his grand-children were in their minority, that hee already had passed more than the moiety of the course of his life, that hee prayed them the children of Germanicus might be admitted, the only remedy, and consolation of the evils which at this time afflicted him. Nero and Drusus were sent for: The Consuls went out of the Senate house to receive them, and after some words spoken to encourage them, they were conducted to the Emperour, who taking them by the hand said.

( Sirs ) when these children lost their father, I committed them to the charge of Drusus my sonne, and their Cousin, & prayed him, although he had children, to take as much care of them, as of his own proper bloud, educate & preserve them for himselfe, and posterity: But now that Drusus

is taken from them, I addresse my prayers to you, and conjure you before the Gods, and our Countrey, that undergoing the performance of my obligation, and yours, you take upon you the breeding, and care of the Nephews of Augustus, descended from eminent, and illustrious Personages.

Afterward casting his eyes on the young Princes, hee sayes to them.

( Nero my darling, and you Drusus ) these Lords, whom you here behold, are your Fathers: The condition of your birth is such, that the State hath much interest in the good, or evill you shall do.

The Senate answered not, but with teares, vowes, and prayers, and this discourse of Tiberius had served for his honour, had hee not therunto added the same promises, which so often were exploded heretofore, and which much it

*Ita nati e-  
ris, ut bona  
milaque  
vestra ad  
Remp. Tac.  
In these  
occasions  
they had  
words  
proper; of  
joy, and  
desire, a-  
mong the  
Grecians  
Agathe-  
tuche, and  
the La-  
tines.  
Q. et fau-  
stum fili-  
que sit.*

would have troubled him to keep.

*I protest unto you (Fathers Conscript) (faith bee) I have no other ambition, but to restore Rome to her ancient liberty, and leave the government, either to the Consuls, or some other. These last words were so farre from the intention of him who spake them, and the belief of his auditory, that they took from the first, all the estimation which truth, and honesty might give them.*

All that was nought but sheer deceit: This evill Prince thought of nothing but the utter extirpation of *Germanicus* his Family, which the death of *Drusus* brought into grace. The funerals were prepared in the same equipage, as those of *Germanicus*, and therunto many other magnificences were added; For the last adulation is ever most costly. *Tiberius* made the funegall Oration,

*Vana, &  
irrisa, ver,  
& bonislo  
fideri adi-  
munt.*  
Tac.

*Addit sem-  
per aliquid  
posterior  
adulatio.*  
Tac.

tion, as *Augustus* had done for *Agrrippa* his sonne in law.

There was placed a vail between him and the dead body, to the end he might not behold the corps: for the Office of the *Pontifex* being sacred, it was not lawfull for him to looke on any thing dead. The Statues likewise of the Gods were vailed, or transferred from places, where punishments were inflicted: Yea *Claudius* caused, that, of *Augustus* to be taken from the Theater of the Gladiators, that it might not ever be present at murther, or be alwayes scarfed. Every one bewailed him, who wept not himself: For an object so sad, and apprehensible as this, could not bend his gravity, beholding without passion in himselfe, how sensible his losse was to others, whilst he would make it appear, he had no sense at all.

*Sejanus* standing by his side

So *Philo*  
saith, that  
the high  
Priest of  
the Jews  
for that  
his soule  
was ever  
pure saw  
nothing  
direfull.  
*Flente po-  
pulo non  
flexit vul-  
nus.* Sen.

Sejanus ad  
latius stanti  
experiendum se de-  
dit quam  
patienter  
fessit suos  
perdere.  
Sen.

admired his constancy, but made no profit thereof: For this act taught him of what temper his heart was, since he so patiently bare the losse of one so beloved. Could hee think, that a Prince who had so little resentment in the death of a sonne, would care for the losse of his servants. Hee must learn to be more subtile to know the humour of his Master, who made use of him, as of a fift, cloke, or gaberdine during the storme; to cast it off when it cealed. *Sejanus* thought on nothing, but the ruine of *Germanicus* his house, and when that were done *Tiberius* would ruine him, for then hee should have no further need of him. He dealt presently as with a good horle, when the rider sees him of gentle manage, hee makes much of him, and lets him go at pleasure where he list, but in the end Masters him.

It was not only violence  
which

which guided this excessive power of *Sejanus*, but avarice also bare a part, making him believe all hee possessed not, was wholly lost. *Dion* saith, hee was heir of all those, who died without children, This exorbitant covetousnesse caused the death of *Lepida* a noble Roman Lady, and *Suetonius* saying, that *Tiberius* made *Lenulus* the Augur die with grief, to the end he might have no other heire than himself, addeth the processe framed against *Lepida*, was only to gratifie *Quirinus* her husband, who was rich, and without issue.

The proceeding related by *Tacitus* is very strange, it was full twenty yeers shee had lived from her husband, when hee accused her of adultery, poyson, & a supposititious child. *Tiberius* affirmed she had consulted with Chaldeans concerning his herte and person. He would not suffer

*Dru-*

Quicquid  
non acqui-  
ritur, dum  
num est.  
Sen.

In gratiam  
*Quirini*  
*consularis*  
*pædicius*,  
*& orbis*,  
*Tacit.*

*Fremit*  
*Druſum*  
*diende*  
*prima loco*  
*Sententia*,  
*ne exteris*  
*offensioni*  
*recessi as*  
*feret. Tacit.*

*Drusus* to deliver his opinion (first) in judgement, that hee might leave the opinions free, and not oblige them to follow his.

There were sports exercised during this processe, *Lepida* went thither with many great and eminent Ladies of the City, and enjoying the priviledge of Romans, who never were imprisoned during their accusation, nor after judgement, unlesse the offence were capitall, as she entred into *Pompeys* Theater, she turned her eyes on the Statues which stood there in many places, and implored aid of him from whom she was descended. This was done with much exclamation, and abundance of teares, that it moved the people, but especially the women, to pity her, and to cry out against *Quirinus*, calling him wicked creature, for that hee so inhumanely had used a wife who ha-

*Aemilian  
Marcel.  
puts Pompeys  
Theater, Inter  
decora urbis  
eternae.*

*Adstantes  
iffusi in la-  
bri mias,  
lava, &  
derstanda  
Quirino  
camitant.  
Tac.*

viag

ving been promised to *Lucius Cæsar* the sonne of *Augustus*, had by this Marriage much honoured him, as if they would have said, that by reaon he was old, and without children, and besides of mean condition, his wife should doe well to make him weare the horn.

The processe comming to triall, verdicts propended to the commiseration of a woman extracted from noble bloud, sequestred twenty yeares from her husband, and where the accusations were only prooved by slaves: But *Rubellius Blaesus* concludes for banishment, *Drusus* was of his opinion, and hee drew those to him, who stood not so much for rigour. The Prince ought not to deliver his opinion first, nor last, it is for him to conclude, and decree, *Piso* confidently laid the same to *Tiberius* in the beginning of his Empire. In what rank (*O Cæsar*)

*Lepida cui  
super E-  
miliorum  
decus L.  
Silla, ac  
Cn. Pom-  
pejus pro-  
vierant.  
Tac.*

*Adserit  
Drusus,  
quamvis a-  
lii mitiores,  
censuissent.  
Tac.*

*Quo loco  
censemus  
Cæsar?  
Si primus,  
habebos  
quod se-  
quer, si post  
omnes vere-  
or ne im-  
prudens  
dissentim.  
Tac.*

I am verrie verry desirous to deliver your opinions; in the first, I were bound to follow you; but in the last, our opinions may happen to differ; and so I might commit a fault against my will.

Dion obserueth another mean, to get the inheritance of a rich man. *Sextus Marius* had a daughter young and beaultifull, *Tiberius* affecteth her, the father removes her to a country house. To inforce their return, they are accused of incest. The daughter sayes to the Father's Let us not afford them the content to dispose of us at their pleasure, nor so far to preuale, as to binder us from dying honestly. I have not used to pray to any, but the Gods; and to *Sejanus* I will never be beholding for my life, upon the price of that, which is more dear to me, than a thousand lives. *Marius* ashamed to see his courage stand in need of his daughters example, flue himself first, and shee after did the like.

This

Hee lives too long, who survives his own honour.

This death much benefited *Tiberius* and *Sejanus*: For they were the heirs of *Marius*, a man so rich, that being offended with a neighbour of his, hee invited him to his house, made him good cheer for two dayes together. On the first hee pulled down his house, on the second he re-edified it again more faire and large. The owner therof returning on the third day, was amazed at this alteration; *Marius* said to him, I have done the one as thy enemy to be revenged on thee, and the other as thy friend, for the good I wish thee.

There was then no safety in Rome, but for Informers, a pernicious sort of people, whom disorder had put into credit, to ruine and overthrow all, and who were so countenanced, that their calumny was not only unpunished, but recompenced. The more implacable, and stiffe they were

The same  
had which  
doth the  
injury ma-  
keth a-  
mends.

*Delatores  
genus ho-  
minum  
publico ex-  
citio reper-  
tum, et pe-  
nis quidem  
nunquam  
satis coerci-  
tum, per  
præmia eli-  
ciebantur.  
Tac.*

*ut quis di-  
strictior ac-  
cuseror ve-  
lue sacro  
sanctus e-  
rat, leues  
igneobiles  
paenit effi-  
cietur.*  
Tac.

*Miseriorum,  
ac sauitie  
exemplum  
atrox, reus  
pater, accu-  
sator filius.*  
Tac.

were to mayntaine a falsehood, and out-brave truth, the more they were rewarded, nor was it a lesse offence to displease them, thā things holy & sacred. Others who would not belie their own consciences, nor deliver their opinion contray to truth, were despised and punished.

*Vibius Screnus* proconsull of the lower Spain, was accused by his own sonne to have conspired against the Emperour, and to have sent men into Gallia to incite, and stirre up the people. He appeareth in the naſt, and durty frock of his voyage, (for he was now freshly returned from banishment) and though hee law his life in imminent perill, yet had he a firme countenance before the Judges, and with an eye of indignation and menace beheld his sonne jocund and merry. Stamping with his feete up and downe for anger, and making a noyse with

with his chains : (for hee was brought thither by the soldiers that guarded him) hee lifted his hands to heaven, prayed the Gods to send him backe to the place from whence he came, and to punish the ingratitude, and impiety of his sonne. Nature so unworthily outraged, prompted him these imprecations not suffering hee should shew himselfe as a father, to this wicked villain, who had revolted from the duty of a sonne. *A father should content himself with a light pa-  
nishment, for a heavy fault:* but this disloyalty was so prodigious, that it drew from his heart this prayer to the Gods for his chastisement : wheresoever monsters are found they are strangled, without considerati-  
on of whence they are: Birds are fed, which come from Forests, and Scorpions killed which are bred in the houle.

This countenance so confi-  
dent

Howloere  
the matter  
go with  
the sonne:  
the father  
should di-  
spoil him-  
self of the  
office of a  
father, to  
play the  
part of a  
Judge.

*Pro peccato  
magno pa-  
tulum sup-  
plicii satis  
est patri.*

*In situ or-  
tas avicu-  
lae pescitie,  
& domi-  
natio Scorp-  
iones occi-  
ditis.* Petr.

*Exequi accusatio-  
nem adigitur.* Tac.

*Hoc in-  
tum contu-  
macius loqui  
apud aures  
superbas, et  
offensioni  
proniores.*  
Tac.

*Dandus  
vite usus,  
cui vita  
conceditur.*  
Tac.

dent imprest in the minds of the judges an opinion of the innocence of the father, and made the wickednesse of the sonne appeare, who was so terrified with remorse of conscience, and murmur of people threatening him prison, stoning to death, and the punishment of parricide, that he fled to Ravenna, from whence *Tiberius* recalled him, enforcing him to pursue his accusation, for he by all meanes desired to be rid of *Serenus*, having upon his stomacke the distast of a letter which he had written eight yeares before, in termes more arrogant than eares, proud, and curios to resent offences, could suffer. The Senators gave their opinions hereupon. *Gallus Asi- nius* advised he should be banished to the Islands of Gyara, or *Donusa*: which *Tiberius* disliked, because there was no water either in the one, or other, saying, it was but reason, to give those men

men meanes of life, who were suffered to live. Cruell pitty! He was willing the commodities of life should serve for the continuance, and entertainment of the miseries of affliction.

It was permitted to the most wicked to accuse the most honest, to revile them with injuries, and give affronts: Masters durst not threaten servants either with word or finger. There was no exorbitancy, which was not dissembled for those, who could shelter themselves under *Cesars* Image. The same liberty which encouraged the eriminall, gave also confidence and occasion to commit the crime. This great reverence done to *Tiberius*, was shewed in other places as well as Rome, his statues being had in as much veneration, as Olympicke *Imper*: in such sort that a master was condemned of impiety, because he had strucken his servant, bearing a piece of coyn insculped with

Religion gave to the Temples of the Gods liberty, and flattery to the statutes of Princes. The custome was thereof in Rome from the time of *Julius Caesar*. Capitale circa Augusti simularium seruum ceci- disse.

with the image of Caesar.

*Annia Rufilla* had been falsely condemned by the Senate at the suit of *Cestius*. She vexed thereat, expected him at the Palace gate, neere unto *Tiberius* statue, from whence as a place of malediction, she thundered against him all manner of calumnies, which are the weapons of weak spirits. *Cestius* durst not demand reparation, because she had reproched him through favour, and neere the statue of *Tiberius*. He made complaint, and spake in full Senate these memorable words.

*Princes posseſſe the place of Gods, but the Gods heare none, but just prayers of ſuppliants. There is not any one hath recourse to the Capitoll, or the other Temples of the Citie, as to a Sanctuary to commit an outrage; but thy Lawes are abolished, and turned up-side downe, ſince in a publicke place, at the entrance of the Palace we are enfor-*

The place where *Tiberius* cursed the Athenians in the Burg of *Garganus*, was called Araterion, the place of malediction. *Plut.* *Principes inſtar deorum ſunt, ſed neque à diis, niſi juſta ſuppli- cum preces audiuntur.* Tac.

enforced to ſuffer wrongs, to heare menaces without hope of justice, for roſpect given to the Emperors ſtature.

Had the History ſaid nothing else, to represent the ſtate of the miserable reigne of *Tiberius*, this would be enough to manifest violence and disorder, and who understandeth the carriage of *Sejanus*, cannot be ignorant, how the State was governed. Pitiful then was the condition of a Roman Citizen, it was dangerous to ſpeak, or to be ſilent, onely thoughts paſſed without mulct, or perill, ſo that the countenance made not appear, either joy for *Agrippina*, or malice againſt *Sejanus*. This abolute power which he had over the wealth of the Romans, made ſome ſay, it were good to dwell in Rome, and have their estate out of the extent of the Roman Empire.

*Vacia, a wealthy man, and who had beeene Praetor, retired*

*Non licet  
iūs experiri  
ob effigiem  
Imperatoris  
oppositam.*  
Tac.

*Crimen ex  
ſilencio, ex  
vice.* Tac.

*Vacia nulla  
re alia  
quæſitio  
nemus con-  
ſenſit, et  
ob hoc unum  
ſalix habe-  
batur. Sen.*

O Vacia,  
solus scis  
vivere.  
Sen.  
*Vita rusti-  
caparsumo-  
nia, justi-  
tia, ac dili-  
gencie ma-  
gistra.* Cic.

to his Country house, finding no freedome against violence, but solitude. It was a difficult matter for men of these times, to make any resolution; for it was supposed, who did so of his owne accord, was so farre alienated from nature: that he stood exalted above it with the Gods, or was cast under it among bruit beasts. As often as the friendship of *Afinius Gallus*, a kinsman of *Agrippina's*, or the malice of *Sejanus* had ruined any, the men of this age cryed loudly out, O *Vacia*, there is none but thou, who knowes how to live.

The solitary life was the most secure, the civill most perilous, and the rusticke most acceptable; so is it likewise the mistresse of frugality, diligence, integrity, and simplicity. It was not attended with so much honour, nor gave such contentment as heretofore, when the great Captains went from Triumph to the Cart, from

from Tillage to Armes, and from Harvest to the Senate. The earth in those times tooke delight to yeeld fruits in abundance, and acknowledge the labour of those victorious hands, which tilled her with a Coulter, crowned with Lawrell.

*Sejanus*, this torrent of pride and insolency, overflowed all: There was not a creature stayed him, all he encountered were utterly ruined. *Tiberius* was blamed for submitting the fortune of the Empire to the discretion of one sole man, and his will to the power of his servant.

Ambition is oft times purblind, when it should be cleare-sighted, and thinking to walke the right way, wanders: It ruin'd *Sejanus*, and caused his designes to succeed otherwise than he hoped. He promised himselfe that *Germanicus* being dead, nothing could hinder him but *Dressus*, he poysoneth him, and behold,

*Attiliti-  
matus rusticus  
opere attiri-  
te salutem  
publicam  
Fabiliterunt  
Val.  
Gaudebat  
rullus ve-  
were laure-  
ato. Plin.*

It is not safe to commit so many, and so great charges, to the fortune of one. *Par de Fab.*  
Evill enterprizes succeed against the undertakers.

Ferox set-  
leram, quia  
prima pro-  
venient.  
Tac.

Non dubia  
Germanici  
liberorum  
successe.  
Tac.

Spargi ve-  
nentum in  
ires non  
poterat,  
egregia cu-  
stodum fide,  
& pudicitia  
Agrippina  
impenetra-  
bili. Tac.

hold the succession (doubtless) stands for *Germanicus* his children. It is necessary for establishment of his tyranny, that he overthrow it, which he undertakes, and that the more boldly, because his precedent outrages succeeded so prosperously, that the father neglecteth to revenge the death of his sonne.

He makes him beleevve his enemies will derive profit from this losse, that *Agrippina* is resolved to reigne. He needeth no great art to perswade him; for he saw the succession open, and this woman thorowly resolved to bite the apple. He is determined to cause the mother and her children to perish. *Sejanus* herein findes himselfe much perplexed: For to thinke to corrupt *Agrippina*, as he had done *Livia*, there was no likelihood, she being of a chasty invincible, and impenetrable: to give poyson unto three at once was impossible; and

severally, difficult; so great was the fidelity, and vigilance of their servants.

Besides, this Lady could not be treated withall, as other women: All the City was for her, the most confident and shamelesse calumny durst not seize on her, she walked firmly between the jealousie of *Tiberius*, and ambition of *Sejanus*, who found no shorter way to ruine her, than to animate the Emperour against her, by causing him to observe her courage, and her hopes.

He lost no time herein, but in a short space met with a fit occasion, to make his wicked designe breake into action. In the beginning of the yeare, they used to sacrifice to *Jupiter* an Oxe with gilded hornes, for the Safety of the Prince, (which is the weale of the State:) The Pontiffes, and other Priests, by their example recommended to the same Gods, *Nero* and *Drusus*, sonnes

H of

*Solennia*  
*vota pro*  
*incolumitate tuâ, quâ*  
*satus publica*  
*continetur, & suscipimus, &*  
*salutis.*

*Adulatio  
moribus  
corruptis  
perinde ac-  
cept, si nul-  
la, & ubi  
nimia est.*  
Tac.

*Primum  
modice per-  
stringendi*  
Tac.

*Mobiles a-  
dolescenti-  
um animi,  
prematurus  
lonerius  
ad superbi-  
am non ex-  
tolleendi.*  
Tac.

of *Germanicus*, not so much for the love of them, as to please *Tiberius*, thereby to let him know how much they desired to perpetuate the Empire in his house. Good manners were to much forgotten, that it was not more dangerous to flatter too much, than not at all.

*Tiberius* was perplexed to see their youth hold way with his age, for which cause he asked the Pontiffes, whether they had done it at the instant entreaties, or threats of *Agrippina*, and they answering no, hee rebuked them, but temperately; for they were for the most part, either Allies of *Agrippina*, or of the prime men of the Cittie. He hastens presently to the Senate on this occasion, frames a large discourse, to shew them that henceforward, The mindes of weake and mutable young men should not be thrust into pride, by honours immaturely conferred upon them.

Yea,

Yea, *Sejanus* made more noise hereupon than *Tiberius*, saying: All would run to ruine, since no more difference was made betweene the Prince, and his kinsmen; That the Cittie of Rome would fall into division, as in the civill broyles, when it had three Lords, *Cesar*, *Pompey* and *Crassus*; That the authoritie of the Emperour would bee the least; That the desire of ancient liberty was awakened; That the faction of *Agrippina* would be setup, which not resisted, their number would bee the greater; That no other remedy could be found for the discord which began to advance, and multiply, but by causing one or two of them presently to be put to death.

He threatned only two, and aimed at many, but he supposed, that these two, *Silius* & *T. Sabinus* should fall from so high an eminence, that all the rest would

H 2

*Factatibus  
dominis  
causmanis  
Roma Lu-  
can.*

*Nullum cli-  
ndigf: m: n: w  
allicordie  
rem diur,  
si unis al.  
te ut maxi-  
me viximus  
suv man-  
tar. Tac.*

*Amicitia  
Germani-  
ci permis-  
sione q: u:  
r: Tac.*

*Turpe alij  
gratificari  
per dedecus  
proprium.*  
Tac.

*Proprium  
Tiberio scel-  
era super-  
repti apris-  
cis rebus  
obregere.*  
Tac.

be warned by their ruine. Their noble affection to the house of *Germanicus*, had in no degree degenerated from the nature of true friendship, although it were not only barren, but unfortunate to them. *Varro* the Consull wickedly accommodating his conscience, and honour to the passion of *Sejanus* accuseth *Caius Silius*, and *Sosia Galla* his Wife, *T. Sabinus* was reserved for another time, and although they made it appeare this pursuit was violent, and that *Varro* ought to stay till he were out of his Consulship, yet processe was framed as in case of treason, though they were accused for nothing but to have converted the moneyes of the common wealth to their owne use, and of which summes no man required restitution: But *Tiberius* was so wary, that he gave the titles of most odious crimes to the slightest faults. *Silius* seeing that, makes no defence,

fence, and when he speakes, it is but to shew the pursuit is too potent: but fore'eeing it was not in his power to save himselfe, his courage counselleth him to prevent a necessary death by a voluntary. *Sosia* was sent into banishment.

His imprudence, and vanity hastned his ruine, for he forbore not to boast that *Tiberius* was bound to him for the Empire, & that if the Legions which hee commanded in Germany had revolted as the rest, hee had not long held out. This reproach touched the soule of *Tiberius* to the quick; For it destroyed his fortune, gave him no share in the prosperous successe of affaires, & made it knowne it was not in his power to free himselfe from this obligation. When the service is so great that it cannot cōdignely be rewarded, Princes account it not only as nothing, but as an offence, thatred poffessing the place

*Imminens  
dam'atio  
voluntaio  
fine prever  
titur. Tac.*

*Citus* was  
undone  
for saying  
*Alexander*  
was Ma-  
ster over  
the lives  
of the Ma-  
cedonians.  
plus.

*Beneſicia  
eouq; teta  
ſunt dum  
videntur  
ſolvi poſſe,  
ubi mu'tum  
antivenere,  
pro gra-  
tia odium  
redditur.*  
Tac.

of recompence, and disgrace of thankes.

*It is a safer way to be obliged to a Master, than to oblige, and the service which cannot bee recompensed, makes the servant troublesome.*

In the midst of all this *Sejanus* sees himselfe so farre removed from his hopes, that hee redoubteth his speed to arrive thither, and by a blind imprudence gives notice thereof to *Tiberius*. It is true he was forced thereunto by the ordinary exclamations of *Livia*, who ceaseth not to challenge him of his promise to legitimate their loves, and to change the title of a Mistresse, into, that, of a wife. *Sejanus* gives her words for effects, she growes angry, hee appeaseth her, shewee weepes, he flatters, and although reason tells her, as Nurses doe children, *Cry not, and you shall have it*; yet patience is forgotten, her heart is like a mine which

Reason  
should say  
to choler,  
what the  
nurse doth  
to the  
child, cry  
not, and  
you shall  
have it.  
Plut.

which breaketh with so much the more ruine, and noise, as it is restrained and inforced. He suffers himselfe to bee transported by the ambition of this woman, who thought to marry the title of *Augusta* with this husband, and so hee to please her discovreth her purpose to the Emperour, entreating him to give way to this marriage. He pre, senteth his suit, and although he infinitely favoured, brake not the custome to treat with the Prince by writing.

*Cesar* paused, to the ende hee might have time to consider of that which was demanded, and what he should answere, and to make the expedition of affaires more easie: for the affluence of them was so great, and the City of such extent, that it was impossible to satisfie all in an instant.

*Augustus* wrote all his answers, that hee might speake neither more nor lesse, than what he had

*Sejanus  
nimia for-  
tum a secors,  
et muliebris  
cupidine in-  
cessus. Tac.*

*Sermone  
è libello  
babu t, ne  
plus minus-  
ve loquere-  
tur. Sueo.*

*Qui timide  
rugar, ne-  
gredire.*

premeditated. The subject of his request being bold, he presented it with much presumption : A fearfull suppliant is the more confidently denied : to beg softly and negligently is to doubt either of the merit of your request, or the power of him whom you petition. He useth a complement of gratitude, and acknowledgement, for this good Courtier never began by way of supplication, and he thereunto addeth a pernicious flattery, protesting he taketh this course, to treat of his affaires, rather with his Masters than the Gods. It was delivered in these termes.

### Sejanus his speech.

*Spes & vo-  
taxis prius  
ad princi-  
pum aures,  
quam ad  
Deos. Tac.*

The good which Augustus hath wished me, and that you have done for me in many occasions (O Cæsar) oblige me, not, to addresse my hopes to the ears of the Gods, before I first offer them to yours, which

which importeth thus much as to tell you, though I never sought the eminent splendor of honours, and that my ambition hath wholly beene to watch, and toyle, even as the meanest gregorian soldier for your safeguard and weale ; yet I notwithstanding enjoy this comfort (which I value above all the rest) to have been reputed not unworthy the alliance of Cæsars, by marriage of my daughter with the sonne of Cladius. This is the foundation of my hope, and forasmuch as I have heard, Augustus purposing to marry his daughter, had an intention to make choyce of a Roman Knight, I humbly intreat, if you seeke out one for Livia the widow of your sonne, you would be pleased to remeber him, whom you ever have loved, and who therin hath no other aime, but the honour of your alliance, & not to leave those offices wherewith you have dignified him. It sufficeth me my house may have a

*Qui excu-  
bias ex la-  
bores ut u-  
nius militum  
pro incolumi-  
itate prin-  
cipes ma-  
ximi, beat  
unquam be-  
norum fal-  
grem p-  
-atur Tac.*

*Augustus  
in cella cui-  
da si à cor-  
nibus  
Romans  
consula-  
vii. Tac.*

## First Historie.

*Satis vixit,  
qui vitam  
cum princi-  
pe exple-  
vit.* Tac.

support against the malice of Agrippina, besides what I doe is merely for affection to my children: As for my selfe I rest contented with life, since I have wholly passed it hitherto in the service of such a Prince.

Tiberius having praised the good nature of Sejanus, and remembred in few words the gratitude he returned, answereth, this affaire required time for a full resolution, and spake in this manner.

## Tiberius his Speech.

*Precipua  
renum ad  
famam.  
dirigenda.*  
Tac.

**T**He undertakings of ordinary men willingly rest upon profit, but the condition of Princes is quite otherwise: For they should direct the principall scope of their ends to reputation, wherefore I will not reply to your demand so fully as I could. Livia may dispose of her selfe, if she resolute to marry, or patiently abide in the house of

my

## Unhappie Prosperitie. 151

my sonne Drulus, in which point she may have counsell much nearer, than mine; of her Grandmother, and her mother: But as for myselfe, I will freely give you my advice. And first concerning the enmities of Agrippina it is undoubted, they will more ardently be inflamed, if the marriage of Livia should divide the family of the Cæsars into divers factions. Thereupon jealousies of women will break forth, & by this discord my nephewes wil enter into contestation, and what will you say, if you must fight for this alliance?

Thou deceivest thy selfe (Sejanus) if thou thinkest still to continue in the same state, or that Livia is of such a disposition, as to be willing to live with a Roman Knight, having espoused Cæsar, and after him Drulus: and though I give my consent dost thou believe, they, who have seen her Brother, Father, and our ancestors in sovereign dignities, will endure I

should

*Matri &  
avie propi-  
ora consilia.*  
Tac.

*Qui si ex-  
tendatur  
certam.n?*

What will  
become of  
thee if  
thou heest  
called?

*Vix cum  
equite Ro-  
mano le-  
nire'et que  
nupse cæ-  
sari. Tac.*

There is no desire so regular, which stayes where it begins.

*Ex: effit e-  
quest: c: sa-  
st: gium Se-  
janus Tac.*

*Augusti  
an: rus in  
omnes eras  
diffidabitur.  
Tac.*

Should suffer it? Resolve thy selfe to live as thou art. But the Magistrates and prime men of state, who visit thee to disease thee, and aske counsell of thee upon all occasions, know well thou wilt not rest there, that thou hast raised thy self above the quality of a Knight, and that I have much exceeded the limits of the love my Father bare thee. In publicke they disseminate it, but in private blame my affection for their hatred of thee. You will say Augustus purposed to bestow his daughter upon a Roman Knight: verily it is strange, that he (having a mind refised to thinke of all, and foreseeing even to what degree of power that man might climbe, whom he, by this alliance should preferre before others) never spake of Caius Proculeius, and some others of remarkable tranquillity of life, who never in any kinde intermedled in state affaires. But if we be amazed at his irresolution, yea, even in the ado.

advancement of these; How much more may wee wonder, that hee married his daughter first to Agrrippa, and afterward to mee? This is it which my friendship will not suffer mee to conceale, and as for the other faction I doe assure thee I will never preferre it before thy designes, nor those of Livia. I will not at this present tell thee what I resolve to doe before the yeare be passed, nor by what alliance I desire to linck thee unto me: I will onely give thee assurance, there is nothing so eminent to which thy vertues, and the affection thou bearest me may not arrive, and when occasion of speech shall be offered, either to the Senate, or people, I will not therein be silent. But Sejanus more trusted his owne thoughts than Tiberius his words, and his soule franticke with this ambition, no longer was capable of reason. Much adoe hath he had to come hither, there is no way to passe any

*In signis vi-  
tae tran-  
quillitas  
nullis R.  
P. negotiis  
permixta.  
Tac.*

*Nihil tam  
excelsum,  
quod non  
mereantur  
virtutes:  
Tac.*

In the commerce  
of love,  
and ambition;  
reason is a  
coyne no-  
thing cur-  
rant.

any further. The Ascent hath been difficult, slippery, and craggy, when he shall arrive on the top, he shall finde nothing but danger, and round about him a gaping precipice.

*Tiberius* not willing to ruine him, made it appeare his course was dangerous, which he would rectifie. *Hee that sheweth the place, where one hath missed the ready way, obligeth no lesse, than he who directeth which way to goe.* He lets him know that this marriage will be a perpetuall source of discord, in the house of the *Cesars*, and that those things which serve for *Ciment*, among such as well accord, cause hatred in the mindes of those, who are already moved.

Bac *Sejanus* is not so much troubled with the successe of his marriage, as with suspitions which began to be hatched in *Tiberius* his braine against this mighty and puissant authority, he alur-

Vixula  
charitatis  
apud con-  
cordes, fusi  
incitamenta  
irarum a-  
pud infen-  
sos. Tac.

usurped over affaires, which in short time make confidence degenerate into feare, affection into jealousy, and liberty into necessity.

When servants are too great, it is no good signe of the greanesse of a Prince; yet is it a thing proper to great Princes, to raile merites, and recompence services: for, wheresoever vertue is found, it will be honoured: More it considereth the person than nation; industry, than birth. In all times Rome hath beheld new men railed to mighty honours. *T. Corin-*  
*canus* chiefe Pontifex, *Sp. Caru-*  
*lus*. Consull, *M. Cato* Censor,  
*Mummius* triumphant, and *Ma-*  
*rius* six times Consull.

It is a madnesse to oppose the pleasure of a Prince; when he saith, I will, he gives an account what he doth. We wonder that *Euthymus* was put into the number of Gods, before his death, and that in his life, he received

Precipuum  
indictum  
magni prin-  
cipis, magni  
libertis.

In cuius-  
cunque a-  
nimis virtus  
sit, ei plu-  
rimum tri-  
buendum.  
well.

Consecratio  
est vivens  
sentiensque  
Euthymus,  
nihilque  
adeo mirum  
alid, quam  
hoc placu-  
isse Diis.  
Flin.

ceived sacrifices: but we are payed with this onely reason, Imperitor will have it so.

To take the power from a Prince, to raise inferiors, and to humble the greatest, is to snatch the scepter out of his hand, to make his authority a scar-crow, and extinguish the radiant light of Majestie. It concerneth the State, that liberality acknowledge desert, and affection support service. The condition of a Prince would be very hard, if hee might not chuse amongst the infinite number of his servants, some one worthy of a nearer trust, according to the happiness of election, or strength of merit.

It importeth not, whether favour cause jealousy in great ones, envy in equals, hatred in inferiors, so it disturbance not the course of affaires, and that particular interest swallow not up the publick, for when this happeneth, and that to enrich a few Favourites, the State.

Incessit  
republica  
quod usus  
necessari-  
um, & dig-  
nitatis emi-  
nere, utilita-  
temque au-  
thoritate  
muniri.  
Vell.

Dubium an-  
sato prin-  
cipum in-  
clinatione in  
bos, offendio  
in illos, an  
sit aliquid  
in nostris  
consiliis.  
Tac.

the State must be impoverisched, allions to confusion: the Prince so ill disposing of his favours, is despised, as having neither judgement, nor justice in his election, and the Favourite findeth, there is no heavier punishment, than publicke hate.

If the Prince please, he casteth him as low, as he raised him high, and there needeth but a blast so overthrow a power, which cannot subsist by its own forces. Tiberius (truely) hath some caule of suspicion, upon this excessive power of Sejanus, but the affection the people beare to the house of Germanicus vexeth him more: and Sejanus, who saw his imagination wounded upon this point, representeth the perill greater than it is, awakeneth in the heart of the Empresse, the old rancors she had conceived against Agrippina; this remembrance moves choler in her, and anger, which is the sinew that giveth the sprigh-

ut pauci  
illustrentur  
mundus  
everitur:  
minus honor,  
orbis exci-  
dium est.  
Sal.

Nulum  
gravius sup-  
plicium odio  
publico.

Sen.

Flnxa  
fama poten-  
tie non suis  
viribus  
nixa. Tac.

Choler is  
appointed  
as a com-  
panion for  
reason:  
and S. Basil  
calleth it,  
The si-  
new of the  
soule.

*Regibus  
aqua, ne-  
dum infir-  
ma insolita  
sunt.* Tac.

*Facilis fa-  
minarum  
credulitas  
ad gaudia.*  
Tac.

sprightliest motions to the soule, makes her consider she shall be nothing, if her enemy be ought.

To cause this apprehension to penetrate more sensibly into her minde, he employeth *Mutilia Prisca*, her trusty friend, & more to gaine her, practiseth upon *Julius Posthumus*, who made love to her. The Empresse instantly was stirred with hopes to supplant *Agrippina*, and the feare not onely to goe below, but equall with her, furnished her with sufficient cunning, to make her more odious to *Tiberius*, than (as yet) she was. Besides, *Sejanus* had suborned men, who entertained *Agrippina* with vanities, and breathed into her soul the sweet hopes of government; and as things pleasing easily enter into the belief of women, she rendred her selfe more prompt, to minister matter of suspicion to *Tiberius*, and of contentment to the people.

But

*Tiberii se-  
culo magna  
pietas fuit  
nihil impie  
facere. Sen.*

But the age being so corrupted, that although it was held a vertue, not to do a mischiefe, and piety to doe nothing wickedly; yet *Tiberius* resolving to doe no good for *Agrippina*, feared to be condemned of impiety and ingratitude, if he did her any injury. His indignation therefore not daring to fall directly upon her, assaulted first her friends and allies. *Claudia Pulchra* her cousin, was accused of adultery with *Furnius*, of charmes and poysen against *Tiberius*.

*Domitius Afer*, who at any rate would make a fortune, was the accuser: He was in the list of those whom *Sejanus* entertained, and used as an inferiour instrument to remove great engines. On this accusation, *Agrippina* wholly inflamed with anger, both for the injury done to her, and the perill of her kinswoman, seeketh out *Tiberius*, and finding him, offering sacrifice for

*Domitius  
Afer quo-  
que criminis  
clarescere  
propensus.*  
Tac.

Non in effigies mutas  
divinus  
spiritus  
transfusus.  
Tac.

Pulchra  
sele exitii  
causa, quod  
Agrippinam  
stule pro-  
fus ad cul-  
tum dilex-  
erit. Tac.

for his father, saith;

*It is dispropportionable to sacri-  
fice victims to Augustus, and per-  
secute his posterity. The spirit of  
this great Prince is not confined  
to his dumb statues, but his true  
image, (which is sprung from his  
celestiall blood) well knoweth the  
difference, by the evill usage is  
done him, he being reduced to the  
miserable condition of the accused.  
It is not Pulchra is aymed at, but  
my selfe, I am the onely cause of  
her ruine, she hath done no ill, but  
in shewing to have no other affecti-  
on, but for the service of Agrip-  
pina, and that imprudently: For  
she ought to have remembred, that  
Sosia Galla was banished for the  
same.*

This discourse so galled Tiberius, that he could no further  
dissemble, but drew from the  
bottome of his heart a word  
sharp and strange, for his hu-  
mour, who accustomed not to  
be so cleare: For after he had told  
her

her she must moderate her pas-  
sion, he addeth a Greek verse to  
this purpose, *Daughter, you think  
you have wrong, if you command  
not. If Agrippina understood  
Greek, this speech could not passe  
without an answer; and it is most  
certaine, Ladies of this quality  
were learned, Agrippina her  
daughter wrote an History, Au-  
gustus commended her wit, as  
one who long time had lived in  
Athens, and other Cities of  
Greece with Germanicus her  
husband, to understand certaine  
graces of speech.*

And it is without doubt, that  
this word touching his ambition  
to the quicke, and heating her  
choler, she could not hold from  
saying this, either in the place, or  
in her retirement.

*Now, I pray, behold in what  
case we are, since the hope of a wo-  
man causeth jealousy in Tiberius,  
and feare in Sejanus. If I have  
been ambitious, it is not for my  
selfe,*

Augustus  
quada  
epistola  
Agrippina  
nepuis inge-  
nium col-  
lendavit,  
& scripta.  
Suct.

deibi num-  
quam per-  
suadebam, et  
meos  
anari ad me  
nimis, ut  
quam pu-  
tem. Plin.

Agrippina  
semper  
atrox, per-  
vicax ira,  
equi impa-  
tientia.  
Tac.

selfe, my sexe wrongs my courage:  
If I desire to reigne, it is but a-  
mong children. What reason is  
there I should love mine own lesse  
than I doe? I have a share in that  
which heaven allots them, and I  
would have them know, if I desire  
not their advancement, I cannot  
be a mother; and if I wish them  
not that, which belongs to their fa-  
ther, I cannot be the daughter of  
Augustus. Let him call me haugh-  
ty, proud, and impatiens, as long  
as he will, I cannot be other to-  
wards that insolent man, whom he  
entitleth his companion, and who  
will be fact with my children, who  
hath allied himself with the Clau-  
dii, thrust in his images among the  
Cæsars, thrown down the Pompey's, extendeth his authority a-  
above the Senate, was the death of  
my husband, hath ruined his fami-  
ly, persecuted my friends and al-  
lies. Yes (truely) I am angry I  
command not; but I should be a-  
shamed to command so impiously,

and

and unjustly.

But to what purpose are me-  
naces used, where power is wan-  
ting? There is nothing more une-  
qual than to be weake, and quickly  
moved with choler. This mood  
of Agrippina profited her no-  
thing, and advanced the condem-  
nation of Furnius, and Pulcra.  
Domitius Afer, who had shew-  
ed himself eloquent in their ac-  
cusation, was commended by  
Tiberius, and put in the ranke of  
the prime Orators, but with  
more reputation of speaking,  
than doing well. The decrepit-  
ness of his age, cut off much of  
the estimation of his eloquence:  
For his spirits being grown wea-  
ry and faint, he could not main-  
tain his speech.

It was doubted whether the  
condemnation of these two Lo-  
vers were according to the Iuli-  
an Law, ordained by Augustus  
against Adulterers, for that was  
too milde to content the cruelty  
of

Weake-  
nesse and  
choler ill  
match to-  
gether.

Prosperior  
Afro elo-  
quentia,  
quam mo-  
ram fusa.  
Tac.

Relegati-  
on more  
gentle thā  
banish-  
ment

*Namque  
religatio,  
non exul-  
dico.* Ovid.

*Argumen-  
tum est de-  
formitatis  
iudicitia :  
nisi quae-  
mam inuenies  
iam misera-  
ram, tam  
folidam,  
ut illi satis  
sit unum  
adultero-  
rum par,  
nisi singulis  
dividat bo-  
ras, & non  
sufficit dies  
omnibus.  
Scn.*

of *Tiberius*, and boldnesse of *Sejanus* which being rather shamefast than severe, did onely banish Delinquents out of the ci-ty Rome.

Number moderated the rigor of the punishment : for had it beene capitall, families had become destarts. *Seneca* saith, this excesse was so common in his time, that chastity was a note of deformity ; for to the wife, there was no need of beautie : That there was not a woman so miserable and contemptible, who contented her selfe with a couple of servants, gave not to each one his houre, and to whom the longest day seemed not too short. It was by Law decreed, that shee who had a Roman Knight, for grand-father, father, or husband, might not be a Prostitute. *Vistilia* extracted from a family of Pretors, declared before the Ediles, shee desired her

her

her beauty unknown ; in a word that shee was a Curtezian. This was all the penalty, which custome imposed upon these vicious women, that the ignominious declaration of one so wretched and infamous, might serve for a punishment. *Tiberius* com-manded her to be shut up in the Island of Seriphos. We must believe *Sejanus* rendred him not more mercisfull towards the kinwoman of *Agrippina* his enemy ; for exceeding the severi-ty of his Predecessours, he already had caused *Aquilina* to bee condemned to banishment, al-though the Consall onely did it by vertue of the Julian Law.

*Agrippina* was so incensed to see her kinwoman thus unwor-thily used, that shee thereupon sickned. *Tiberius* visiteth her, and after complements of good wishes for her health, sorrow instantly drew sighs from the heart, and teares from the eyes

I

*Saxis pena-  
rum adver-  
sum impud-  
cas in ipsa  
professione  
flagitiis.  
Tac.*

*Aquiliam  
quaquam  
Conculge-  
latis dam-  
nificet, ex-  
isti omnibus.  
Tac.*

of

*Non aliud  
probis, quā  
ex matr-  
ianio sola-  
sum.* Tac.

of the sieke, when having deplored the misery, and ruine of her house, she besought the Emperour to easse her afflictions, give her leave to marry, her youth being unable to continue in this solitude; nor any other contentment remaining among honest women of this her age, but wedlocke; as also that hee would bee pleased seriously to embrace the protection of the widdow and children of Germanicus.

*This request which I ( O Father ) make to you, is not because I am either troubled at my solitariness, or that there is any thing in the world can reinkindle my love, the first being raked up in the ashes of Germanicus, and which shall never be revived.*

*This is not a matter to give me content, there is none left for me: But if the Gods have ( as yet ) decreed any favour for me, they must afford me a new heart to entercaine it : For they never his-*  
*ther-*

*thereto have allowed any to mine, but acerbities, it not being able to hold, or retaine pleasures. I stand in need of one who may comfort, not my courage, but cherish my patience against mine enemies.*

*State-rules, which transcend all the reasons of ordinary lawes, could not approve this her demand, because being a woman as well praised for chastity, as fruitfulness, she would have filled a house with grand-children of Augustus, who all one day might pretend to the succession of the Empire.*

*For which cause Tiberius considering the prejudice the state was like to receive thereby, made her no answers, and that he might give her no further notice, either of his distast or feare, he slightly retired, not speaking one word. This silence, and slacknesse the more inflamed Agrippina, but since the first arrowes of revenge are injuries,*

I 2 and

Reason of state is a contravention against common- Reason in respect of one reason or one benefit much greater & more uniy. full.

An addicced answerer neither discouers tēstiment nor feare. Ne affirmando, aut metu predicator. Tat.

*Primasem-  
per irarum  
tela male-  
dicta sunt  
& quicquid  
non possit  
minus imbe-  
cilles, opta-  
miserati,  
Sala.*

*Solum insi-  
diorum re-  
medium, si  
non intelli-  
gentur.  
Tac.*

and what cannot bee done through want of power, is in heat of anger wished, she vomited all out, which lay on her heart. *Sejanus* who knew how to take his time, ponders all this, and by an officious disloyalty causeth to be said to this Lady, that the designes which *Tiberius* hath concealed in his heart against her, are now on the point to breake forth, that hee is resolved to poison her, and therefore wished her to take nothing, eyther from his hand, or of his meat. *Agrippina* who out of her wildome was not to make shew of this counsell, for the danger might ensue in taking notice to know the purposes of the Prince, presently bare her heart on her forehead, and being at his table, stiffly resolved on silence and abstinenace. When he saw, shes had not tasted of an apple, which he presented her with his owne hand, and that shes gave it to those

those who waited at the table, hee turned to his Mother, and said in her eare. *It is not to bee wondered at, if I heretofore have decreed any harsh thing against this woman, since shee accounts me a poysoner.*

*Where distrust begins, friend-  
ship ends:* From this instant their spirits became irreconciliable, & the rumour ran thorow Rome, *Tiberius* would put *Agrippina* to death, eyther in private, or publick.

Thereupon *Tiberius* makes a voyage to Naples, the designe whereof had often beene resolued, set on foot againe, and broken off. Hee laid it was to dedicate a Temple to *Jupiter* at Capua, and another to *Augustus* at Nola, where hee dyed, but his intention was to absint himselfe from the City. It is certaine that *Sejanus*, knowing his humour, advised this retirement that hee might have opportunity at his

*Non mirum  
si princeps  
quid severi-  
us sit: his in  
cum a quo  
renescitur  
similatur.  
Tac.*

*Certus pro-  
cul arbo de-  
gere. Tac.  
Augus*tus*  
died at  
Nola.  
cum sevi-  
iam, ac lib-  
idis in fatus  
premeret,  
locis occul-  
tabat, Tac.*

pleasure to rule him: but because he remained there five yeares after his death, I suppose, he chose this place to cover the exorbitancies of his life.

There are some hold opinion, it was also to conceale his old age which made him contemptible, and that hee might not expose his body to publike view, which was ready to fal in pieces, and his spirit to issue out, as it were from a building, the wals whereof are ruinate, and planchers rotten. This ill habit of body, made him ashamed: hee was tall of stature, meager and thin, his shoulders crooked and hollow, his head bald, and void of haire, his face over-run with pushes, and mattery botches, and alwaies spotted and disfigured with plaisters: The haire of his beard covered not his deformities, for the Emperours ware none. His nature was pleased with solitariness, & used it much

at

Weake old age makes a Prince to be despised. *Dio-*  
*ces* speaks it of *Tibe-*  
*rius* and  
No. vii. *Di-*  
*a cogeras*  
*cataphra-*  
*noumenon.*

*Adriā* was the first Emperour who let his beard grow to cover his scarres.

at Rhodes, where hee fled from company, to hide the shame of his owne excesses, and those of his wife.

One of the most apparant reasons was his impatience, not being any longer able to endure neare his mother, who would do all, nor could he take the authority out of her hands, he having received the Empire from her. Upon all occasions she upbraided him, that he reigned not but by her meanes, that hee was no lesse obliged to her for his fortune, than his birth. Nor is it to bee doubted; for *Livia* perceiving *Augustus* would declare *Germanicus* his successor, upon the conceit this election would bee acceptable to the people, (who loved and applauded him) obtained so much by her praiers, and conjurations, that *Tiberius* was assured of Empire, after *Augustus*, and *Germanicus* after *Tiberius*. *Livia* put him in

I 4

mind

Sovereign authority is in capable of company.

*Materem do misericordia sociem as- pernabatur.*  
Tac.

*Qui expō-  
bret, re-  
pōsiū. Tac.*

*Marius  
principē  
Sejanus  
curium  
Atticum  
appressit.  
Tac.*

mind thereof, The memory was a reproach, the reproach a summons of acknowledgement, and the failing hercyn, Ingratitude.

He then undertooke this journey to absent himselfe from his Mother, and was attended by very few, One Senator *Cocceius Nerva* skifull in the lawes, *Sejanus*, ONE Knight, and *Curtius Atticus* whom *Sejanus* ruined. The other were men of learning, and for the most part Grecians; For he entertained himselfe with their discourses, was delighted with the riches and elegance of this language, and spake it distinctly, properly, and eloquently, which is not done without the helpe of nature, art, and propriety. Many can speake, few expresse themselves, for to expresse well it is requisite the discourse be ever to the purpose, the words good, the consequence without confusion.

Besides

Besides the contentment *Sejanus* received in wholly possesing his Master, he managed his affaires with more safety, and lesse envy : but ever gave fortune much advantage over himselfe. His abode in Rome was not so proper, for dismissing the ordinary companies from his house, he lost his friends, in entertaining them, he made the number to be known, and gave suspition to the Master. He also had another benefit; for receiving the packets which the souldiers of the guard brought, he became sole arbitrator of dispatches.

All the functions of *Tiberius* his soule were depraved in this ill leisure, and all the faculties he had were dissolved into delights, which *Sejanus* perpetually season'd with some notable example, because this Prince thought his authority weaken'd, if severity maintained, nor his reputation.

I 5

This

He that medleth in many matters, gives fortune much power over him.  
*Qui offlu-  
o: in domum  
cerus areet,  
infringit  
potestim:  
qui recipit,  
fictitatem  
criminanti-  
bus prebet.  
Tac.*

Souldiers carried  
packets of  
letters and  
were cal-  
led Spies.

Hinc me-  
ritus in em-  
ere, & fuga  
corum, qui  
convivium  
celebrabant.  
Tac.

Qui non  
sui, sed  
principis est  
aaxius,  
cum fide  
audierit  
quarquam  
extrofuo  
ludicra.  
Tac.

This retirement afforded him one occasion, which greatly confirmed the prooofe of his fidelity; for *Tiberius* dining in a vault, the roofe thereof fell downe, slew some of his officers, and had overwhelmed him, without the helpe of *Sejanus*, who covered him with his head and hands, the safety of his Prince being more dear to him than his own. From that time forward he gave eare to his counsels, although dangerous, not considering the motives or sequels, as proceeding from one who protested to have no other interest, but his authority.

He perfwaded him to quit himselfe of *Nero*, the neerest to the succession, whose hopes much disturbed his repose, and entertained desires of change in the minds of the people. He played the Judge himselfe, his creatures were the accusers, and they condemned him as criminall. This young

young Prince had modesty enough in his condition, but little judgement to resolve on the sudden, and to consider the counsels of his servants, who ceas'd not to tell him, that his birth designed him for Empire, that the people desired it, the Legions required it, that *Sejanus* was wickid enough, not to wish it, but not sufficiently powerfull to hinder him. These words put no ill thoughts into his minde, but drew from his lips inconsiderate speeches, which being reported to *Sejanus*, and from thence to *Tiberius*, were taken for conspiracies. When he is at Court, great observation is used over his actions: Crime in words, crime in silence: all his wayes are looked into: there is no retreat, nor safety in his house, night it selfe hath no coverture, nor secret place for him: If he repose in his wifes bosome, he there findeth treachery; for as a vessell ill hooped, suf-

Nero quan-  
quas mo-  
destias ju-  
ventuta  
men quid  
impræsentia-  
rum con-  
ducere ob-  
litus. Tac.

Nihil qui-  
dem præve  
cigitationis,  
sed inter-  
dum vices  
contumaces  
& incon-  
sultæ. Tac.

A Roman Senator tryed the discretion of his wife, as a vessel ill hooped; He neither painted oyle nor vngarter into it, but enely wa- ter, and satisfied her with toyes he inven-  
teth. *Plut.*  
*Nero* qui-  
dam secura-  
dum exor-  
vigilias,  
sumnia,  
supria  
matri Li-  
viae a que  
illa Sejanus  
par faceret.  
*Tac.*  
*I*an diu s-  
pi tafia-  
crum edia

sers all that is pouert in, to run out, she relateth to *Livia*, the Emperours mother, his watchings, dreames, yea even his very sights. *Livia* recounteth them to *Sejanus*, who bandith his brother *Drusus* against him, giving him hope of the first place, when his elder brother, whom the hate of *Tiberius* made already infinitly to stagger, should be overthrowne. The spirit of *Drusus* was eager, for besides the desire of command, and emulations which ordinarily are among brothers, he was very suspitious, his mother *Agrippina* loved *Nero* better than himselfe. *Sejanus* was no otherwise affected, nor were his intentions better rectified for *Drusus*: but knowing he was courageous, and bare himself boldly in perile, he supposed it would be very easie to prepare an Ambuscado, and louterly ruine him.

All the friends of *Germanicus* were

were fought out and persecuted: friends deceived friends. The most established amity went not so farre as to the Altar, but cove red under it inhumane disloyal ties, which shewed how dangerous it was for man to confide in man, whose forehead was a lyer, eye a traitor; and countenance unfaithfull. *Sabinus* accused by *Silius* staid not long to see him in the same precipice, wherin himselfe had been cast: but it was done by a notable treason.

Fouré Pretors affected the Consulship, the highest honour of Roman ambition. Twelve V- shers marched before the Consull; As he passed along, he that was sitting rose up to him, and he who was on horse-backe, or in a Coach alighted, every one veild bonnet, and many laid downe their swords for reverence.

These Honours being not to be acquired but by the favour of *Sejanus* he that could not attaine ought

accendun-  
tur. *Tac.*

*Multis si-  
mulatio-  
num impo-  
lueris regi-  
tur naturas;  
unius usus  
q[ui] pro frons,  
oculis. vul-  
tus persepe  
mentiuatur*  
*Cic.*  
*Si consulem  
vitero, aut  
pretorem,  
omnia qui-  
bus honor  
baberi solet  
faciam,  
equo desili-  
am, caput  
apriam,  
fmita ee-  
dem. *Sen.**

*Sejanus vero  
lupus non  
nisi scelere  
quarebatur.*  
Tac.

*Friend-  
ship which  
ends, was  
never  
friendship.  
Sextetor  
domi, comes  
in publice,  
post eor  
climates unus*  
Tac.

ought by just and honourable meanes, knew not on what to resolve. Give him money? He careth not for it, he disposeth of the riches of the Empire, and treasure of the Emperour, which consisted of more than three-score and twelve millions of gold: Pleasures? Nature violateth her selfe, turning all upside downe to furnish him: Titles? He is more than the Emperour; for his will giveth law to his, his statues are erected, as high as those of the *Cesars*. To gaine the favour of the Oracle, the heads of his enemies must be sacrificed to him.

Of this number was *Titus Sabinus*, a Roman Knight, who being of opinion that a friend which ceased so to be, had never been such, continued his affection after the death of *Germanicus* to his wife and children, assisting them in their houshold affaires, accompanying them in the City, boasting

boasting the constancy of his fidelity, even in the time when their faithfullest friends grew timorous, and the most obliged, ungratefull.

That which pleased honest men, and incensed the wicked, fell right within the compasie of *Sejanus* ayime, who held it for a bravado and a contempt, that a man of this quality, made so small account of his power, as to declare himselfe openly for his enemies. These men knew the wound in his heart: And undertooke to pull-away the steele that stukke therein. *Latiaris* was made the spy to betray *Sabinus*, and the rest were witnesses. He had some acquaintance with him, which he renewes, cherisheth, and establisheth by a more straight familiarity, and begins to applaud him for his constancy in friendship towards *Germanicus* his family, when others failed, speaketh of this Prince with

*Eo apud  
bonos lau-  
datus, gra-  
vis inquis.*  
Tac.

*Compositum  
inter ipsos,  
ut Latiaris  
frueret do-  
lum, ceteri  
testes ades-  
sent. Tac.*  
*Florentis  
domus ami-  
ci, afflictam  
deserant.*  
Tac.

Mores in  
calamitate  
mortaliuum  
animi. Tac.

Effudit la-  
crimas,  
juxxit que-  
rus, ciden-  
tius onerat  
Sejanum,  
fauium,  
superbiam,  
spes eius.

Tac.

Species  
arbitri ami-  
cicie inter  
eis, qui  
sermonibus  
uetua  
misere.

Tac.

with honour, of his wife with  
pitty, of his children with hope.  
*Sabinus* believiing he had found a  
man truly faithfull to poure his  
complaints into his breast, and  
(hearts being ever tender in the  
resentment of calamities) he set  
his teares at liberty, then his  
plaints followed, and after, re-  
proches, and opprobries against  
*Sejanus*, speaking of his cruelties,  
pride, and plots, and it being a  
hard matter to bridle discourse,  
when anger and passion have ta-  
ken their scope, many free words  
escaped him against *Tiberius*.

This secret passion so breathed  
forth, and his heart thus freely  
disburdened, he imagined he  
might build upon the amity, and  
freedom of *Latiaris*, because  
they had so interchangeably mixt  
together bold complaints, and  
words both dangerous, and un-  
lawfull.

And as discontented spirits  
penetrate and search into each  
other,

other, *Sabinus* every day repai-  
red to *Latiaris* to discover to  
him some new wound of his  
heart, and that, so much the more  
confidently, as he reputed him  
for a most faithfull friend, and  
that he (poore man) might im-  
ploy the more time and judge-  
ment to make triall of him.

*Latiaris* relateth to the other  
three Senators the discourse  
which he held with *Sabinus*: but  
because the testimony of one sin-  
gle man was not sufficient to  
convince him; they advised to  
hide themselves, betweene the  
seeling and the boards, to hear-  
ken, whilst *Latiaris* should con-  
tinue, & renew this conference.  
He fiadeth him in the street,  
brings him to his house, saying,  
he had newes to tell him, and be-  
ing shut up together in the cham-  
ber, he representeth to him the  
perils passed, & the miseries pre-  
sent, whereof these times were  
too fruitfull, and redoubled new  
horrors

Dolores  
quasi ad  
fissimum  
dolorum.  
Tac.

Turpis la-  
tebra, de-  
cessanda  
fians. Tac.

*Praeterita,  
& instan-  
tia quorum  
affluit  
copia, novos  
terrores  
cumulat.*  
Tac.

*Mæta ubi  
semel pro-  
rupere,  
difficilius  
reincidunt.*  
Tac.

horrors upon old grievances, not so much therby to let him know, that all was naught, as to give him occasion to talke and prattle in his former guise. *Sabinus*, who was still very confident, said to him, Matters were now reduced to such termes, that one could neither speake, nor pre-lage any thing but ill, that no good was to be expected in so tyrannicall & insolent a government, and, for that grieves and injuries are hardly forborne, when they have once had a vent (it being painfull to hide a wound) he makes *Sejanus* author of all these miseries, private and publicke. With much difficulty conceale we our hurts.

All this conference ascended by the holes in the seeling, to the eares of the three Senators, who so soone as *Sabinus* retired, accomplished their treason. *Tacitus* affirmeth, they in the same instant, by expresse letters, let *Tiberius*

beries understand all, represent-  
ting the treason, and their owne  
infamy; and *Dion* saith, it was  
to please *Sejanus*. He might have  
added, it so behoved them: for  
besides the recompence they  
would draw from this disloyal-  
ty, and to arrive to the honour  
of Consulship, by thus dishonou-  
ring themselves, if one of these  
should have betrayed his com-  
panion, they had been all utterly  
undone.

The bruit of this mischiefe  
brought to Capreæ, instantly re-  
turned to Rome, where it mar-  
vellously disturbed mindes, put  
every one upon his guard, eares  
known and unknown were su-  
pected, wals were mistrusted,  
and things inanimate feared: there  
was every where silence,  
perplexity, and amazement.

*Sabinus* on the first day of the  
yeare was imprisoned: *Is the  
new yeare* (saith he to those who  
apprehended him) *thus begun?*

*Must*

*Missi ad  
Cæsarem  
literis ordi-  
nem fraudis  
suumque  
ipſi dedecus  
narravere.  
Tac.  
Tofiano  
charixome-  
nos. Dion.*

*Note igno-  
re que aures  
vitantur,  
muta, aigue  
inanima,  
rectum &  
parietes  
circum-  
spectantur.  
Tac.*

*In iura sa-  
cro, & vota  
verbis eri-  
am profanis  
abstinere-  
mos.* Tac.

*Cum qui-  
dam ex co-  
rona cir-  
cumstante  
cani cibum  
objecisset ad  
os defuncti  
tulit. In-  
naturavit  
idem in Ty-  
berim cade-  
vere abjecto  
sufficiare  
coratus.*  
Plin.  
*Tiberius  
scelerum  
ministros,  
ut perversi  
ab aliis no-  
lebat, ita*

*Mus Sejanus have sacrifices of this quality? what safety then is there for a Roman Citizen, seeing among vowe and holy ceremonies, even where prophane words are forborne, cords and halters are used, both to binde and strangle, yea even Temples are turned into prisons?*

He presently was put to death, having no leisure given to defend, and justifie himselfe. His dog stayed still neere the dead body, laid the bread to his masters mouth which which was given him; and when the corps was thrown into Tyber, leaped after to support it, that it might not sinke to the bottome; whilst the whole Citie stood amazed to see such thankfulness in a beast, amongst so many ingratitudes, and inhumanities which dishonoured men. All the accusers dyed miserably: and as Princes abhorre Traytors after they have drawn profit out of their treason so,

*so, Tiberius rid himselfe of them: for when hee had made use of these evill instruments, he discarded them to take new.*

The Emperour gave thanks to the Senate they had delivered the Common-wealth from such an enemy, and added, he passed his life in feare and terror. That the conspiracies of his enemies much disquieted him, and though he named them not, it well appeared it was meant by Agrippina, and her children. *Afinius Gal-  
lus* speaking according to his li-  
berty, and usuall plainnesse, laid, the Emperour must be entreated to discover his feares, and suffer they may be removed from his minde. *Tiberius* thought this speech over-bold, for it carried the lampe into the bottome of his heart, which he would not discover. *Sejanus* sweetned it, not for the love of *Gallus*, but that his choler being the more slow, the fall might be the more precipitate,

*plerumque  
satiarus, &  
oblatio in  
candem  
operam re-  
centibus,  
veleres,  
& pragra-  
ves affixit.*  
Tac.

*Qui metus  
fateretur, eos  
& amoveri  
sint.* Tac.  
*Aegrius  
accipit  
princeps ea  
qua reclu-  
dit, quam  
qua promit.*  
Tac.

*Tiberius  
lenuus in  
meditando,  
abi praeur-  
pissit ei ibi-  
oribus dictis  
atrocis  
sceleris  
conjurge-  
bat.* Tac.

tate, and impetuous: having ever found, that the more he thought upon his revenge, time rendred it the more violent, & the more distantly he menaced, the more heavy was the blow.

*Afinius Gallus* had much credit in the Common-wealth, but no favour from *Tiberius*, who feared his courage, hated his vertues, and said, Pride was in him an hereditary disease, blaming *Afinius Pollio* his father, a brave Captaine, a vehement Orator, an excellent Poet, and a friend of truth in a time when it was most hatefull.

*Tiberius* ( who ever bare in mind the bitter words, which *Afinius* spake to him at his comming to the Empire, when confessing himself incapable to hold any more than one part thereof, he readily asked him, which hee would have ) cast him into prison, where for three yeares hee languished: Death dis-engaged him;

*Afinius Pollio*  
wrote a  
Tragedy  
of civill  
wars.

*Inverrogo  
Cesar  
quam par-  
tem reipu-  
licae tibi  
mandari  
velis.* Tac.

him; but it is not knowne whether it were naturall, or violent. Princes will not thus be dallyed with, wee must speake to them by way of supplication, or remonstrance: we are not to correct them; to tell them their errours, is to offend them.

About this time the Emperours Mother dyed, 86. yeares old, according to *Dion*, or 82. as *Pliny* affirmeth, who ascribeth the length of her life to the quality of a wine she dranke. The Senate decreed large honours for her: But her sonne, not through modesty, but envy, cut away part thereof, and by his letters dissembled not, to bee disstasted with the graces done to his Mother, taxing the Consull *Fusius* whom the Empresse had loved, a man very comely to attract the affections of women, and who had a grace in speaking witty conceits, and jesting at *Tiberius* with taunts, which touched the quick. Great men do

Speaking  
to a prince,  
we are not  
so much to  
consider  
whether  
that which  
is spoken  
be true, as  
whether  
they be fit  
to heare a  
truth.

*Julia Augu-  
sta Lxxxij.  
annos vita  
Pucino retu-  
lit acceptos,  
non alio vi-  
no usq;  
Plin.*

Fatigatum  
apud prepara-  
tiones in  
longum me-  
moria est,  
dum acerba  
sum. Tac.

Parentes  
non amore  
impietas est,  
non agnos-  
cere insati-  
a. Sen.

Iulia Tibe-  
rii nomen  
supposit scrip-  
si, Tiberius,  
ut in se-  
rius maje-  
ste princi-  
pialis diffin-  
itum gravi  
offensione  
abdidie.  
Tac.

not so soone forget, yea even that,  
which is spoken in merriment.

The haire of *Tiberius* were  
growne white under the obedi-  
ence of this Mother. Neither age  
nor Majestie dispensed with his  
duty. The sage Roman hereto-  
fore in his title said, that he who  
loveth not those who brought  
him into the world, is impious.  
he that acknowledgeth them  
not, is mad. But this respect  
grounded upon the duties of na-  
ture, hindreth not the liberty of  
State-rule, which is jealous of a-  
ny thing that trencheth upon  
their authority. He was offend-  
ed his Mother dedicating a sta-  
tue to *Augustus*, neare to *Mar-  
cellus* his Theater, had set the  
name of *Livia* before that of *Ti-  
berius*, he thought Majestie was  
wronged herein, & that a Prince  
should not content to be touched  
by any.

She had beeene married to *Ti-  
berius Nero*, Father of the Em-  
perour

perour *Tiberius*; and *Augustus*,  
becoming extremely passio-  
nate for her love, tooke her from  
her husband, and that so sudden-  
ly, that he gave her not time to  
lay her great belly, and to leave  
in her lodging what shee there  
had taken. It is not known, whe-  
ther shee consented to this  
change, or whether her igno-  
rance gave some colour hereunto. Faire Women, who have  
don amisse at the suit of a Prince,  
think authority will excuse them.  
*Helena* said, her Mother erred  
not, having *Jupiter* for the war-  
rant of her fault.

*Scribonia* the Wife of *Augu-  
stus* was rejected, because she too  
liberally had complained of the  
immoderate power of this new  
Mistresse; her selfe established *Li-  
via*, and her errour taught her,  
that to gaine the heart of her hus-  
band, she must comply with his  
humour, which was the cause  
she being asked what shee had  
done

penitibus  
gravida  
induxit.  
Tac.

vitium au-  
tole rede-  
mit. Ovid.  
*Matri* in  
admissio fal-  
& subima-  
gine luce,  
Error in est  
placata te-  
ctus adul-  
teri trax.  
Ovid.

done to governe him so absolutely, answered, By not prying into his actions, and dissembling his loves.

Never any Woman gave her Husband better counsell. For seeing *Augustus* having reigned severely, lived not safely, and that *Cinna* had attempted to kill him in a City of Gaule, as hee was sacrificing, with intent to offer him as a victim for the publique good: *Augustus* was much displeased, when he was advised hereof, and desired death, since so many were interested therein, and that a man of quality, neephew to *Pompey*, underooke to bereave him of his life. In this perplexitie, *Livia* his wife spake these memorable words: The remedion you have used have bin to no purpose, take the contrary way, severity hitherto hath nothing profited, try the effect of clemency: pardon *Cinna*, his plot is discovered, hee cannot prejudice

*Quid vivis  
si perire te  
tam multo-  
rum inter-  
rest, quis-  
finis erit  
Suppicio-  
rum? quic  
sanguinis?*  
*D. Aug.*

*Severitate  
nihil aduers  
profecisti,  
renta quo-  
modo libi  
cedat cle-  
mencia:  
Ignoce*Cin-  
nae*, de pre-  
bensus est,  
jam nocere  
tibi non po-  
test, prodesse  
fama tue  
potest.*  
*D.  
Liv.*

your

your life, and may much benefit your reputation.

*Augustus* beleeveth her, sends for *Cinna*, and telling him hee was well informed of his desighn, said: I heretofore gave thee life, as mine Enemie and a Rebell: now I will grant it thee, as a Traytor and a Parricide: Let us speake no more of it, but be friends, and make it apppeare which of us two hath done best, either I in pardoning, or thou in repenting.

As *Tiberius* had his confident friend, so *Livia* had hers. To obtaine any suit from *Tiberius*, way must be made by *Sejanus*; He that would gaine the favour of *Livia*, must sacrifice to *Vrgulanis*, whose power in the City was so great, that no man durst enterprize any thing contrary to her liking, how just so ever it were: For shee had raised her selfe above the Lawes; besides, shee was a woman so haughty and arrogant, that being called

*Contenda  
mua utrum  
ego meliore  
fide vitam  
libidederim,  
an sudabe-  
as. Sca.*

*Amicitia  
Auguste  
Vrgulanum  
exulerat  
supra leges.*  
*Tac.*

*Vestales in  
foro, & ju-  
dicio audiri  
quiesceant, et  
timonium  
dicereant, ve-  
tus mos fu-  
it.* Tac.  
*Vrgu'ania  
moniem prin-  
cipes pagi-  
nem nepoti-  
misi.* Tac.

to the Senate, she refused to appeare, although none were dispensed with herein, no not the Vestall Virgins themselves. *Tiberius* enforced through duty to his Mother, became passionate in her causes; in such sort, that her Nephew having throwne his Wife out at a window, he went presently to view the Chamber, and saw this woman had not cast her selfe downe of her owne accord, as her Husband affirmed: for the signes were yet to be seene, of the violence used to thrust her out, and of her resistance to hinder it.

While this Lady was alive, he moderated his affections, submitting himselfe through duty to her counsels and *Sejanus* for reverence humbled his desigues under her commands, not daring to contradict them: But after her death, all was at liberty, and in confusion, nor was there any farther hope or refuge for innocence.

*Caius*

*Tunc veluti  
frenis exo-  
luciprora-  
runt.* Tac.

*Caius Cesar* who succeeded to the Empire, publikely praised her before the Palace, that shée most religiouly had governed her house after the ancient manner, not permitting time should introduce the vanities and curiosities, which so much had wasted the former simplicity. A Princesse most affable, and courteous beyond the carriage of women of passed times. As a Mother, she could not suffer, As a Wife, nothing was insupportable, yea, was lo wary, that she prudently accommodated her selfe to the wisedome of *Augus-  
tus*, and the dissimulation of *Ti-  
berius*.

The Senate received letters from *Tiberius* against *Agrippina*, and her children: It was thought a long time since they were written, but that the Empresse had detained them, foreseeing they would give occasion of trouble, and although her ambition wax-

K 3

ed

There is nothing but ambition which never wax eth old in man *Tibus* and *Plant.*

ed not old, yet desired she to end the small remainder of her life in repose.

They accused neither Nero nor Drusus of treason, nor of levies of soldiers, nor to have plotted innovations, onely that they were debauched. There was not any thing offended the mother herein, but the imputation of pride and obstinacy. The letters being read, it was moved deliberation should be used, but as opinions are delivered more, or lesse rigorous, according to the disposition of their nature who give judgement, certaine Senators, whose hopes could not be grounded upon honour, yet sought out occasions of grace, and favour, in publicke calamities, advised contrary to the most ancient, and sage; and making their owne desires mount much higher than other, found there is not any spirit so strong or fierce, which ought not to be very rever-

*Quae nul-  
la ex  
beneficio spes  
publica ma-  
la in occasi-  
onem gra-  
cie trahit-  
tur. Tac.*

ved either in giving counsell or judgement upon the liberty, or life of him, who may succeed the Prince.

Tiberius had bestowed the office of the acts and registers of the Senate on *Iunius Rusticus*, who having not given before any proofe of constancy, or fortitude, yet shewed it was good to proceed gently in this affaire, that the accused might have time allowed him to repent, and frustrate this commandement: for the most important things are altered in a moment. Besides nature, in the house of *Germanicus* was vigorous and flourishing, and in that of *Tiberius* weary, spent, and fraile.

Vpon this difference the people who could not endure these Princes should be used as criminals, detect this injustice, and lay the blame on *Sejanus*, carry the figures of *Agrippina*, and *Nero* up and down the City, assemble

K 4 daily

*Dandum  
interstiti-  
um peni-  
tentia. Tac.*

*Brevibus  
momentis  
summa  
veris pos-  
sunt. Tac.*

*Perebantur  
sub nemini-  
bus consula-  
rium fitta  
in Sejanum  
sententie.  
Tac.*

*per occultum libido ingeniorum exercetur procacius.*  
Tac.

daily about the palace, cry out the letters were false and forged, make processe against *Sejanus*, and counterfeiting the resolutions of the Senators, the stoutest man amongst them having collected them from this company, pronounceth judgement of death against him. And to this, Satyricall invectives are not wanting, so much the more confident, as the authors were concealed, and gathered and sought out to much the more greedily, as they in them contained quicke and ingenious conceits.

*Sejanus* who should have avoided these blows by contempt of them, gave satisfaction to his enemies, by letting them know these things much troubled him, and informing the Emperour, his Majesty suffered in his suffering; That the people assembling together, and making decrees, there remained nothing for them to doe, but to take armes, and chuse him

him Emperour, whose Images they bare for ensignes.

*Tiberius* wrote other letters, and continueth his complaints against *Agrippina*, and her children, against the temerity, and insolence of the popular multitude, & against the Senate, who more weighed the cunning practises of one Senator, than the reverence of his Commands, in contempt of his will, and scorning of his authority: but addeth, that he to himselfe relerveth the judgment hereof. The Senators excuse themselves, and protest they resolved on punishment, and extreamest rigour if his commandement had not stayed them.

In this point all the world bewaileth the inevitable losse of *Tacitus* his booke, which recordeth the rest of *Agrippinae* fortune, the conspiracy of *Sejanus*, leading us along with the corke of truth through the mists of conjectures. Libraries have prefer-

K 5 . ved

*Facile populus duces, Imperatoresque diligunt, quorum imagines pro vexitis sequitur.*  
Tac.

*Integram lib. viii. ad ann. 732.*  
Tac.

The losse of *Tacitus* Annals is incalculable, not of some pages, but of iii. which suffice from the year 732. to 745.

ved many booke, which we willingly wold restore to them againe, for that which wanteth of this excellent author, who de-scribed all that was requisite to be known of the worldz affaires.

Now *Tiberius* ceased not, till the Senate had satisfied him, and that all his violences were autho-rized by their judgement. No-thing so much urged the con-demnation of *Agrippina*, and her children, as the information *Sejanus* gave to *Tiberius*, that she was resolved to passe through the temples of Rome, to imbrace the statues of *Augustus*, thereby to stirre the people, and if that took not effect to hasten with her children to Germany to seaze on the Legions.

*Agrippina* was viled no better than her children, and we must understand, that of her, which *Suetonius* saith of them, that he caused them to be declared en-mies, and dye with hunger. *Nero* was

Novissime  
calumnia-  
ta, modo  
ad statuim  
*Augusti*,  
modo ad-  
exercitus  
confugere  
velle.  
Suet.

Accusavit.  
per literas  
emissimas  
congehi-  
ciam pro-  
bris, et ju-  
dicia;  
terribiles  
fame res-  
tit. Suet.

was banished into the Iland of Pontia, *Drusus* immured in the base Court of the palace; the ru-mor was, that *Nero* seeing the executioner who brought the halter, and hooke for him to make his choyce, slew himselfe with his own hand, and that food being denied to *Drusus*, he eat the flocks of his matteresle; but the death of thele two Prin-ces was not so sudden, nor in this manner. *Suetonius* wrote it upon bruit, who makes his fraughtup, as well of lies, as verities.

The worst was done that might be against *Agrippina*, and her extremity was to be exiled into the Iland of Pandatia in the Tyrrhene sea, where she hour-ly might expect, when they would come to strangle her, or being asleepe, cause death and sleep to meet together. But *Tibe-rius* desired life should be her pu-nishment, and, as injuries are worse borne by those, who think they

*Druso adeo*  
*alimenta*  
*subduilla,*  
*ut somen-*  
*tum & cul-*  
*citra renita-*  
*veric man-*  
*dere. Suet.*

Pandatri-  
am relega-  
vit. Suet.

S:m:un-  
mortis  
fung:re.  
Petu.

Q'orum  
causa gra-  
viorei, quis  
inique.

Tac.

The pen  
is cold in  
compari-  
son of the  
tongue,  
when the  
ardent  
passion of  
a woman an-  
couragi-  
ous, and  
incensed is  
to be ex-  
p. c. s. i. d.

Fuerim  
centum  
nibil amplius  
deterre  
et nos piz-  
mentum.  
Sen.

they have not deserved them, and whose cause is just? to this poore Princelle ceased not to complain, and lament the inhumanity of Tiberius. Seeing then we know the wrong she suffered, we may well conjecture what the complaints were she made. Her ordinary discourse was to this purpose, but it is not heightened with that grace she gave it from her gravity, nor with that fervor wherewith she enkindled it by her passion.

### Agrippinae Speech.

**V**ILL the cruel Tyrant be satisfied, seeing hee may now with full draught quench that ardent thirst in the blood of Augustus, which so long hath tormented him? And will this disloyall Sejanus any more complaine of fortune, who hath brought under his owne power these three beasts; which stopped his

passage

passage to Tyranny?

The Gods have singled mee out to beare alone all the miseries of my house, and the expiation of the rest. I aske them but one favour, which is death. Is it possible they shouldest denye it to the miserable? And who is more miserable in life than he who desireth death; or in death, than hee that is deuyed bur-iali?

Complaints, not forbiddene to the wretched, and which afford some ease to misery, are denied mee; Nay, if this instant know not, whether spies may be set upon mee to relate all I say. And I will say, for it is an argument of feare and perfidiamity, not to dare to tell our grievances. I will complaine to heaven and earth of the inhumanities practised by Tiberius on the living, and dead. He put my uncles to death who refuted his hopes. Augustus my grandfather not long after discovered to Fulvius his intention of repealing Agrippa.

This

Quid mi-  
serius in  
vita quam  
vile mori?  
Quid in  
morte quam  
sceliri non  
posse? Sen.  
P.

Augustus  
commu-  
nicateth  
this secret  
to Fulvius  
who dis-  
covered it  
to his  
wife, she  
to Livia.

Augustus is  
displeased  
with Ful-  
vius, who  
for grieve  
k illed  
himselfe,  
and his  
wife fol-  
lowed  
him. Plut.

This poore Agrippa was the first  
victime sacrificed at his entrance  
into the Empire. My Mother Iu-  
lia, who for her last misfortune,  
and third Husband, married this  
cruell man, presently followed her  
Sonne. Germanicus was poi-  
soned; his Widow banished, Nero  
exiled, Drusus, a prisoner, Caligu-  
la in their power, what would they  
more?

I was married, hee hath taken  
my Husband from mee, I found  
another among the prime fami-  
lies of Rome; he hath hindered it;  
I was a Mother, he hath taken a-  
way my Children; I was free, he  
useth mee as a slave; Nothing is  
left me but honour, and hee inde-  
vourreth by impudent calumnies to  
traduce it. His slander being un-  
able to fasten on me, hee hath in-  
vented a new imposture, which  
senth of the pollution of the  
place, from whence it procedeth,  
infaying Asinius Gallus hath love  
in store for me. I cannot but think

Tiberius  
fadifimus  
criminati-  
onibus ex-  
merit, im-  
peditum ar-  
guens, &  
Asinius  
Gallus a-  
dulterum.  
Tac.

well

well so bee loved by a man, whom  
Augustus held worthy of the Em-  
pire: besides he was my brother in  
law, nor haue I so little respected  
my sister Viplania, a sorobber  
of the heart of her Husband.

Let my former actions answere  
for my present; Never haue I  
knowne whom to affet, but the  
friends of my Husband, nor haue  
I ever transferred my eyes, or  
thoughtes upon any other. If I haue  
beene Mistresse of some beauty, I  
haue not haene proud of it, nor  
suffered others to talke of it,  
or esteemed it at albus for decen-  
cy.

They haue reason indeede to say  
I haue haene too haughty; it is  
true my disdaines haue served my  
purposes: Far scornefull beauties  
entrap not hearts: I must affirme  
the passion of love in my soule haue  
given way to ambition, and I haue  
taken more pleasure in employ-  
ment, which only appertains to

It is not  
fit the wife  
seeke par-  
ticular  
friends,  
but think  
well of  
the gene-  
rall friends  
of her bus-  
band. Plut.

mes-

Agrippina  
aqui impa-  
tiens, domi  
nandi avi-  
da, virili-  
bus curis fa-  
minerum  
vilia exer-  
cet. Tac.

It is the  
fashion of  
good men  
to do wel,  
and of bad  
to speake  
ill, and do  
worse.

masculine minds, than to vani-  
ties, which satisfie none but the  
effeminate, and I may truly say,  
it is long since I forsooke all the im-  
perfections of my sex, to put on  
manly, and generous resolu-  
tions.

But these impostures, are  
nought else, than moakes procee-  
ding from the ardent desires of Se-  
janus to arrive at the Empire:  
For he seeing Rome affected me,  
and that this well-wishing is sup-  
ported by the opinion of some me-  
rit, hath proclaimed me a wicked  
woman, but as he exceeds mee in  
speaking ill, I have ever surpas-  
sed him in well doing.

Let him please himselfe to have  
cast mee into a condition, that I  
may no longer bee able to give him  
occasion of feare, & on the other  
side comfort my selfe, he hath re-  
duced me to such a state that he  
can doe no worse by me, for I shall  
esteeme the greatest ill hee may  
worke, the greatest good hee can  
do:

doome; Let him not feare I will  
oppose his ambition, he ought to  
dread fortune more than mee, I  
suppose she cannot be more favor-  
able to a mischievous plot, than  
she hath appeared unequall in  
the protection of a just and lawfull  
cause.

His ambition hath no limit, sa-  
tietie in him procureth appetite,  
he in the beginning protested, the  
Colonelship of the Guards should  
content him, he desired nought  
else; and now, when hee through  
age should not stretch out his hand  
to any, but the Physician, hee will  
graspe the Tribunitiall stafte, to  
bee in the neerest degree to sove-  
reigne command. Hath hee asked  
counsell of his courage, whether he  
be capable? He never hath scene  
abatell, but in Picture, nor e-  
ver drawne his sword, but to shew  
the blade.

After all this, he would have  
me live, that death may serve me  
for a punishment, and will not suf-  
fer

The appre-  
tite of am-  
bition en-  
creaseth  
with satie-  
ty.

Tiberius  
said, a man  
who had  
passed  
threescore  
yeares  
should not  
stretch out  
his hand  
to the peo-  
ple, to  
have their  
voyce, or  
suffrage.  
Plus.

Vici, quem  
vicerim que-  
ris? metum  
mortis, qui  
victores gen-  
tium vici.  
Sen.

Officium pi-  
um, sed im-  
tile. Ovid.

Explan-  
dus exitus,  
quem na-  
tura decrevit.  
Sen.

He, who is  
in the po-  
wer of an-  
other, im-  
paires his  
condition  
by his im-  
patience,  
and the li-  
berty of  
his com-  
plaints.

for me to let it appere a Woman  
knowes, how to conquer the feare  
of death, which terrifieth the most  
daring. Since then all the passa-  
ges to arrive at death, or draw it  
upon me are stopped up, I must  
seeke it in mine affliction, and my  
courage must yeld thereunto; It  
shall not resist these violences,  
consolations would redouble it,  
which I will refuse, on what side  
soever they come; Those my  
friends afford shall in themselves  
commendable, but for me unprof-  
itable.

If abstinence, affliction, melan-  
choly, and sorrow cannot vindi-  
cate mee from this misery, and  
that needs I must live dying, and  
dye living, I will expect which  
way the Gods will have mee finish  
my dayes, and hap what hap will,  
as I have lived Agrippina, I will  
dye Agrippina;

The dolour of her wounds dai-  
ly increasing, shee continually  
laid her hand on the sore, and  
with-

without ceasing renewed the  
complaints, which so excessive a  
sorrow was unable to moderate.  
Her words were related to Ti-  
berius, who was well pleased,  
that she perpetually gave him  
cause, why to augment her ill  
usage, for it would have vexed  
him, her patience should oblige  
him to any courtesie. Hee com-  
manded the Captaine who had  
her in charge, not to let the ill  
language she used passe without  
reply. This cruell Man well  
knowing; the way to please Ti-  
berius, was to injur her, and  
hearing her continue frequent  
complaints and reproaches, so  
barbarously and brutishly beat  
her, that therewith one of her  
eyes started out of her head.

After this cruell outrage, shee  
would no longer live, and being  
resolved no farther to expect  
death, but to prevent it, shee re-  
mained some dayes without  
food; but the Souldiers opening  
her

Convulsi  
ei oculum  
per Convul-  
siones ver-  
beribus ex-  
cuffit. Suet.

Mori ine-  
dia defi-  
nenti, per  
vim ore di-  
ducto infil-  
citi cibum  
iussit Suet.

*Ad morien-  
dum nihil  
aliud in  
mora, quam  
velle. Sen.*

*Non magis  
cruelles  
sunt, qui  
volentem  
vivere ex-  
cidunt,  
quam qui  
mori volen-  
tes non  
scidunt.  
Sen. P.*

her mouth by force, constrained her to swallow nourishment. She therein being more miserable than others, who dye when they list, and have nothing but their own wils to hinder them; but she was willing to dye, and is enforced to live. Death is the onely remedy for evils, and she may not use it. *They are no leſſe  
cruell, who kill those that would  
live, than ſuch as force them to  
live, that desire to dye.*

Yet is not *Sejanus* arrived to that he aimed at, all he hath done to advance his purposes, prospers not; for *Tiberius*, who was no longer distrustfull of *Germanicus*, nor jealous of *Drusus*, and is revenged of the pride of *Agrippina*, and her children, imagineth nothing can further disturb him, but the arrogance and immeasurable power of *Sejanus*. Which is the cause he addeth new jealousies to old fears, and revolves in his braine, that he dreameth

of Empire.

Besides, Fortune began to grow weary of waiting on him, for he went too fast. She forfaketh his insolence, and ill carriage, as if she had not raised him, but to make him fall from such an height, that there should not be a creature found durst lend him an arme, or offer a bolome to receive him. *Tiberius*, who loved him, began now to feare him, and seeing the Senate more esteemed of *Sejanus* than himself, he entred into an apprehension they would make him Emperor, from that time he resolved to draw this thorne out of his heart; but did nothing rashly: For it was onely dangerous to enterprise his ruine, but even to make semblance thereof. He proceeded very slowly, and contrary to the advice of the Sages, who counsell, matters important should rather be acted, than consulted on.

This

*Quos diu  
fortuna  
sequuntur,  
eos repente  
velut farin-  
gata desce-  
nit. Q.  
Cure.  
Dion saith,  
Tiberius  
seeing Se-  
janus was  
waited  
on, and  
feared by  
the Sena-  
tors,  
doubted  
they  
would  
make him  
Emperor.*

A wise  
Courtier  
ought to  
know the  
complexion  
of his  
Prince.  
Behold  
upon this  
an excell-  
ent Treas-  
tise of the  
Court,  
written  
by M. de  
Refuges a  
Counsellor  
of State.

Rationem  
felicitatis  
nemo red-  
dit. Auson.

This delay proceeded both from prudence, and affection; for it croaddled him to name a man, who began to serve him, before he to reign.

Yet I notwithstanding suppose, had this been all, he would have discerned it, nor ever had rid his hands of him; for he was apt for his humours, knew them perfectly, consented to his pleasures, corresponded with his opinions, had readily preserved him from an ill accident, & disengaged him frō his perplexities. He overthrew all the principall men which ministred matter of feare, or jealousie, reposing himselfe on the watchfull heed of a fervant so faithfull and approved, entermedled not but with occurrents of most moment, and lived peaceably in his Iland.

And though it be a matter ver-  
ry difficult, to sound the heart of  
a Prince, and the canes of sud-  
den prosperities, yet doubtlesse  
there is no way so short to merit

his good opinion, as to serve him in matters which are either pleasing, or profitable, dispose of his delights, and manage his purse. All, which is honest and profit-  
able should give contents. But the passion of pleasure transporteth the consideration, both of honour and profit. *Sejanus* had all which might serve to entertaine the Prince in repose, and banish the necessity of affaires; and such power over his heart, that he gave it what motion he would, either of love, feare, or hatred.

He had done many great ser-  
vices for him, and although this consideracion is not alwaies plau-  
sible in the mindes of Princes, (for there are some, who the more they are obliged, the lesse doe love.) Yet would *Tiberius* have great ones know, what they (in serving him well) might expect. But there is no likelihood if he had not been endowed with excellent parts, and of cou-  
rage

To be lo-  
ved of a  
Prince, he  
must be  
observed  
in his  
pleasures.

A Prince  
ought to  
take notice  
of services,  
that he  
may be  
the better  
served.

Sejanus  
laboris, &  
fidei capa-  
cissimus,  
sufficiente  
vigore ani-  
mi, compa-  
ge corporis,  
& actu  
otiosus si-  
millimus.  
Vell.  
Intra ali-  
orum esti-  
mationes se-  
metiens,  
vultu, vita-  
qua exan-  
quillus,  
a nino  
exfannis.  
Vell.

rage undaunted, he so long had continued in the favour of Tiberius, a sorne, severe, prudent, and iuisitious Prince. The History sets before us two divers Pourtrraits; the one under Tacitus his penhill, who representeth him, as wicked; the other from the hand of *Velleius Paterculus* who flatters, and affords him al, the lustre of a perfect Courtier, he sayes: *The vigour of his body was answerable to the force of his spirit, that he travelled without paine, acted all, as if he did nothing, and in his greatest employments seemed at rest, neither shewing himselfe troubled, nor surmoyled: That he hunted not after occasions, nor gave himselfe the honour of it: That he had his desires in all, and ever placed himselfe beneath the esteemme, was bad of him: there could never be obserued, or found any alteration in his countenance, his spirit always awakened, and he ever active.*

How-

Howsoever it be, Sejanus to all purposes was an abie man, and having lasted almost as long as *Tiberius*, we must thinke, if Fortune had not turned her selfe against his counsels, he had enforced her to subscribe to his wisedome. Onely I much wonder, that having made so many friends, he wanted friends: That among so many heads tyed (as it were) to his, and which could not stand firme on their shoulders, were his taken off, there was not one spake freely and faithfully, to advise him to prevent his ruine. It is the common calamity of great ones: it is necessary all discourses addressed to them be of grace, and sweetnesse: They beleeee true owerth them all that, which complacence affordeth. Were there Judges appointed for adulatior, they would have little to doe, for no man complaineth, he is flattered.

Sejanus had this unhappinesse,

L not

To speake  
sweetly  
and graci-  
ously to  
great men.  
*Attentio*  
callith it,  
*Euagelisticis*  
*Aucto-riis*,  
*Choriglo-  
rini.*

not to have a creature, who sincerely and ingenuously at any time laid.

*Temper your spirit, provoke not your fortune, abuse not your favour. Dally not with your Master, this time will not always last; Patience offended turnes into fury.* And should any one have said this, he would not have beleaved it. Pride dazzled his eyes, whilst he boasted to hold fire, and water in his hands, and meant to make use of them when he pleased.

Dion saith, If any God were descended, and had assured the ruine of Sejanus, it would not have been beleaved; for at that time every one sware by his fortune. Not onely to attempt, yea think, nay dream against the State, is a crime.

Tiberius then (though tardily) perceiving Sejanus built his hopes on his tombe, and that he not onely dreamed, but plotted, yea attempted on Empire, he resolved to quench the fire of this ambitious. The first suspition he conceived, was upon his marriage with Livia the widow of Drusus: The second, that the house of Germanicus being over-

throwne, there appeared no obstacle for his insolence, which was mounted to such a height, it no longer could rest in any consistence: The third on the excesse of his power in the affaires of the Senate, treasures and commands: The fourth on his great retinue of servants, who too much presumed upon him: The fifth that he held Drusus prisoner, and Caius Caesar at his dispose, to produce them when need were, and continue under their names the supreme government: The sixt upon the cunning he used to withdraw him from his abode in the City, and detaine him as a captive; under pretext of absence, and old age: The seventh upon the strong and violent meanes he made to have the power of a Tribune, which was so great, that the Emperours annexed it to their owne persons: The eighth, that Sejanus spake words he should

Suum  
ad gradum  
claritas  
cum vene-  
ris, egre con-  
fites. Later.

Impreba  
blanditiis,  
non quo  
amicorum,  
sed que ac-  
teriorum  
facit affez-  
tando Ale.  
Procurabit  
Celirem -  
urgente jam  
Seresta,  
lureq;  
laici moue-  
lum, munis  
imperii po-  
litice trans-  
missorum.

rather have concealed than expressed. And if upon all this he had had but this one suspition of his aspiring to the state, there needed no paines to be taken to find out a greater crime.

But *Tiberius* is condemned of two acts of pusillanimity; The first two have suffered the encrease of this excessive power, which could not bee acquired without extreme industry, nor lessened but with over much severity. The tree, which was in the beginning but a little plant, beareth his head and branches so high, that it giveth a most dangerous shadow. That which he might have drawne forth with one hand, when it did but prick, taketh such deepe rootes, that it afterward is very hardly pulled up with both. *The Prince who hindereth not increase of ambition, when it first groweth, deriveth no other profit from his sufferance, but loss and repentance. A State*

*Blood drawne abundantly from the bestrein is well employed to defend or acquire one least mite of authority.*

*will no more tolerate two Kings, than the world two Sunnes, or the Temple two Deities. Soueraigne authority is a strong sea-wall, not so soone overborne by the impetuous violence of the tide, or weight of the water it resisteth, as by a slight rift, or cranny, which gives passage to the torrent of waves.*

The second is to have used so much ceremony in so pressing an occasion, so much policy in so great a power, so much feare in so undoubted security. Not to be separated from him, he made him his colleague in the Consulship, to whom no man had bee[n] associated without unhapiness.

*When Tiberius wrote to the Senate, hee stufed his letters with nothing but the deserts of Sejanus, and the services hee had done the Empire: Thete words are many times inculcated Sejanus my friend, my Sejanus, I say my Sejanus. It ieemeth he con-*

L 3      fined

*When au-  
thority is  
eneckakte  
it is rui-  
ned.*

*Quintilius  
varus, Ca-  
pius-  
Germani-  
cus and  
Drusus  
who had  
bin Con-  
suls with  
*Tiberius* di-  
ed of a vi-  
olent  
death.  
Dion.*

fined not the glory of the Empire, but within the compasse of his life. His statues were to bee seene every where, every one raiseth them as to their Guardian God. Who will refuse to yeeld him honour, on whom the Emperour so profusely confers it?

*nos debemus boni-  
nes, quod soli ani-  
morum nos si-  
cives bibimus.*  
Plin

This five yeares Consulship, intoxicated him, and as the excellency of wine invites a Man to drinke beyond thirst, so this sweeteesse of prosperities inebriated and transported him to more, than he wished. He that is embarged on this Ocean, where there are so many perils, ought never to confide in the Calme, but rather turne his eies towards heaven, to direct his hopes to a good haven.

The solitary, and voluptuous life of *Tiberius*, was the ladder of his ambition: For like another *Sardanapalus*, hee vaunted nothing but his riots. *Sejanus* enter-

retained him him in this shamefull idlenesse, spitefully accustoming him to prefer things sensually, before serious. *He, who neglecteth the office of a Master, findeth servants audacious enough to command him: And who aleteth the Prince but in a Chamber, runnes the hazard to find a companion in the field.*

Impudence accompanying his pride, drew these words from his mouth, which ought never to have proceeded so much as from his thoughts: *I am Emperour of Rome, and Tiberius is Prince of the Island.* He caused sports to be presented afore him by bald men, who were brought to the entrance of the Theater, by five thousand shaven youths, therewith to flout *Tiberius* his bald crowne This number will not be strange to those, who know the Romans had troupes, and Legions, and such there have been who have had more than twenty

Familias  
calamis-  
tas. Ap. I.  
Crinatus  
puer. Scr.  
Praeincti  
pueri. comp-  
tiq. Hor.

Aram cle-  
meniae, ar-  
am emici-  
tie effigies  
que circum  
Caesaris, ac  
Sejani co-  
lue: cre-  
brisq; pre-  
citus effla-  
gitabant,  
visendisuis  
copiam fa-  
cerent.  
Tac.

ty thousand of those marching before them ; but it was much to shave them, for then great care was used in frizeling, and curling their haire.

*Tiberius* was instantly advertised of this mockery, and made shew not to know it, although he resented it to the quicke, but was willing ignorance disfbled should excuse the slacknes of undoubred revenge. Besides, there is not anything which more gatheth the heart of a Prince, than to see himselfe braved by a man, whom he hath raised from the contempt and misery of a meane condition. It is no lesse troublesome to be exposed to the derision of servants, than to the discretion of enemies.

Vpon the newes, that the Frisons, a people of Rhine had broken the peace, and in battell defeated the armies, so great was the terror in Rome, that every one ran to the Altars of clemen-

cy

cy, and amity, adoring the statutes of *Tiberius* and *Sejanus*, which stood round about, humbly beseeching them to retarne againe to Rome. *Tiberius*, and *Sejanus* were willing the Romans by their absence should judge of the benefit, their residence in Court brought them : Nor indeede is it fit a Prince should still abide in one place : If the Sunne stept not out of one of his twelve houses, all would run to ruine. *Tiberius* notwithstanding drew neare, and because he somtimes approached even to the suburbs, not entring into the City, many thought the limits of Astrology, and lying, stood not so neare one another as it was said : For the Astrologers affirmed, *Tiberius* went out of Rome under such a constellation, that he should never return againe ; and there is great apparence, if this feare had not sciled on his iuagination, hee had

L 5

Breve con-  
finium ar-  
tis, & falsi.  
Tac.

not

not resided eleven yeares out of Rome.

These predictions animated the complices of *Sejanus*, solliciting him to temporize no longer, since the starres conspired with his purpose. On the other side *Tiberius*, would not be surprised, and as the feare of evill which he apprehended much urged him, so the perill of remedy restrained him: but imagining hee should bee prevented, if *Sejanus* had the winde of him, hee durst aske counsell of none but himselfe, what resolution was fitte st to be taken.

*Sejanus* { as yet } distrusted nothing, prosperity had seeled up his eyes, he thought *Tiberius* meant no other, but to passe his time in Caprea; it was now five yeares he had beeene there, at Rome there was no speech of him, but as of a Prince who reigned not, and lived but at the devotion of others; that he neither

ther saw, nor heard, but through *Sejanus*, who alone was his eyes, and eares, and took no contentment, but in pleasure, and ease, which was the cause *Sejanus* put forward and advanced his designe of the Empire the more violently; what blindnesse is this: He is not to live one moneth, and plotteth designes for an age?

It was very strange he had not some suspition of the Emperors purposes. All intelligences which went to Caprea, or came to Rome passed thorow his hands, and he hearkened to them all, For it is behovefull those who are engaged in important affaires, should slight nothing, and though oft times tales are brought, yet some truth is ever stirring: they make use of all, and are well paid for it; when of an hundred informations given, one proveth true.

He held all dispositions at his discretion, either by feare, hope, or benefits. Those who served

The kings of Persia had ser-vants called the eyes and eares of the King, and by them they under-stood all that was done or spoken every where.

*Apol.*  
There is no man so great a Liar, who speakes not some truth.

Hearts are gained by hope, fear, or benefits

Accrimi-  
cates, quo  
Sejanus ut  
fieri nni  
mansuelos  
omnibus  
feros babe-  
ret, sanguine  
burnato  
pasciebat.  
Sen.

*Tiberius*, depended on *Sejanus*, sware by no other name, but, that, of their Master. *Tiberius* did nothing which was not related to *Sejanus*, nor was advertised of any thing *Sejanus* acted contrary to his service. He had men for all sorts of employments; *Seneca* calls them his dogs, who were onely tractable, and tame to himselfe, and barked at all others; for he maintained them with the bloud of his enemies. *Tiberius* not able to lay hold on him in the face, sets on his sides, and embraceth him to strangle him: He cauised a rumour to be divulged, he would make him Tribune, and wrote to the Senate, that without him this vast body of Empire would fall in pieces; in all his letters he signifieth *Sejanus* was the Oracle of his designes, the companion of his thoughts.

The Senate who observed not, that *Tiberius* dissembled, see-  
keth

keth out all sorts of honours, wherewith to dignifie *Sejanus*, decreereth both their names should be set in the selfe same line in pa-  
tents, and inscriptions, their chaires in the same rank in The-  
aters and Temples, their statu-  
es every where erected, and that  
comming to Rome one onely  
should goe before another.

*Tiberius* is not offended the Se-  
nate cherishest the pride of *Se-  
janus*, to the end that vanity ren-  
dring him more insolent, his de-  
portments might become the  
more odious. In the meane time  
to let *Tiberius* know his designs  
ayme not beyond his life, he cau-  
ised *Germanicus* to be accused,  
that he had attempted on the  
person of *Cæsar*, this man for his  
fuller justification brought his  
will into the Senate house, where  
he made the Prince his heire, a  
proofe of his affection, and de-  
sire not to survive him. But that  
being not sufficient to save him,

He who  
will ruine  
one is wel  
pleased  
with his  
evill car-  
riage.

He who will make one his heire, thinkes to dye before him.

*Nullum magis adversarium timeas, quam qui vivere non potest, occidere potest. Sen. P. Tiberius said, beholding Caligula, I breed up a Serpent for the people of Rome, and a Phœbus for the rest of the world. Sall.*

when he saw the Questor coming to execute him, he thrust a knife into his own belly, saying, *Goe tell the Senate I dye as a man ought to doe. Publia Prisca his wife, being in the palace, did the like.* I much wonder among so many, who dyed thus couragi-ously, there was none enterpri- sed the death either of *Tiberius*, or *Sejanus*: *For he who is care-lesse of his owne life, is master of another.*

This so fervent favour of *Tibe- rius*, cooled not at the first oc- casion, it grew lukewarme, and then wholly congealed into ice. He to day strikes one blow for *Sejanus*, and to morrow another against him, he assigneth the dig- nity of the Pontifex to his sonne, and though he hated *Caligula*, he gave him the same honour, and that onely because he was an enemy to *Sejanus*. At this instant he gratified him, in granting what he demanded, and pre- sently

sently revoketh what he had gi- ven him, and held his spirit so suspended betweene hope and feare, that he knew not where he was, and did nothing but like a man amazed. He commandeth the Senate to free a Proconsull, whom *Sejanus* had accused. *Tibe- rius* publikely praileth *Caliga- la*, and lets it be known, he resol- ved to declare him his Successor, not so much for affection, as to make the world grieve at his Successor, being indeed more cruell and wicked than himselfe. He writing to the Senate, sayes no more but this onely, *Sejanus* is my friend, his name was found in his letters single, and alone, adding no more the titles, and re- commendations he accustomed. *As soone as the affection of a Prince takes ayre, it vapours a- way, and it is a hard matter to conserue it still in the same degree of heat.*

The people were all well plea-

*Tiberius* desired all might perish after him, and thought *Priamus* happy, in that he ended his reigne and life toge- ther. *Vian.*

*Caligula*  
seeing  
many Se-  
nators at  
his table,  
laughed at  
a sudden,  
and it be-  
ing asked,  
what he  
meant by  
it? he an-  
swered,  
for that it  
is in my  
power to  
cause you  
to be stran-  
gled one  
after ano-  
ther. *Suet.*

pleased, that *Tiberius* began to affect *Caligula*, not so much for the love of him, who was naturally violent and inhumane, taking no delight, but in the sight of bloud, as for honour to the memory of *Germanicus* his father, and the desire of *Sejanus* his ruine, of whose tyranny they were apprehensive.

*Tiberius*, who had pondred and digested this designe in his heart, thought there was no further danger for him to declare himselfe, and leave the way of dissimulation, to pursue the track of fortitude. He sent an Edict to the Senate, prohibiting the offer of sacrifice to any man living, and the ordaining of any kinde of honour to *Sejanus*, it being a matter by him not approved, to see the reverence conferred on a Subject, which he accounted disproportional for the Prince.

Then was the time when such as were but friends of his fortune,

tune, declared themselves enemies to his designes! Temporary friends) who come but to drinke, and return back againe when the bottles are empty. But as thunder roreth when the aire is brightest, *Sejanus* beheld himselfe surprised with a storme, in the clearest serenity of fortune. Many presages he had of his fall. The Theater where he received salutations on the Calends, brake; and a Cat crossed him. Coming from the Capitoll, the Guard thronging thorow the press to follow him, and get before, fell from the top of the staires, from which criminals were headlong thrown. *Sejanus* consulted with Southslayers, to know what that presaged. Lucky birds appeared not: He saw none but a great flight of Ravens, ill-boading birds, Nightingales of Hell, which flew, and croaked round about him. There was seen in the ayre a globe of fire, such

*Tamdiu  
placebit,  
quandiu  
villis. Sen.*

Ancient  
superstiti-  
on tooke  
the cros-  
sing of a  
Cat for  
an ill pre-  
sage.

*Tiberius*  
*Gracchus*  
going to  
the Capi-  
toll, three  
Ravens  
flew about  
him, and  
he was  
there slain  
*Val.*

Videmus non semel  
flammam  
ingenis  
pila specie,  
que tamen  
in ipso cur-  
su suo dis-  
sipata est.  
Vidimus  
circa divi  
Augusti  
excessum,  
simile pro-  
digium,  
vidimus  
cum de  
Sejano  
actum est.  
Sen.

such an one as was beheld at the death of *Augustus*, and *Gernanicus*: but there was not a man, who in this his most flourishing state, imagined he was so neare his end. Yet desisted they not to stile him the companion of *Tiberius*, not onely in the Consulship, but in the Empire of the world.

*Tiberius*, to discover dispositions and affections, wrote often to *Sejanus*, and to the Senate, sometime that he was in good health, sometime at the point of death: other while that his strength was come to him againe, and that he hoped very shortly to see them, and return to Rome.

These dissimulations availed him: for according as the newes brought either joy, or sorrow, hope, or feare, hee distinguished between such as depended on him, or *Sejanus*. He also besought the Senate, to send him one of

the

two Consuls with a Guard, to conduct him safely.

Hee thought the conspiracie was so powerfull against him, he could not withstand it, and had already for the purpose prepared ships for flight, and caused Sentinels to be set on the rocks, who by fires were to give signall of what they discovered. Needs must the conspiracy be great, and neer at hand, or *Tiberius* very timorous and wretched, so to manifest the anguish of his minde,

*For never should feare lodge in the heart, or appeare on the forehead of a Prince, who maketh his complaint, when those who ought to feare him, terrifie him.*

But *Sejanus* beginneth to be perplexed, when he heard it reported, the head of one of his statues was seene to smoke. Hee commanded it to be broken to know the cause, and there issued from thence an huge serpent. He despised not this Prodigy, but made

pudenda  
miseran-  
daque ora-  
tione P. C.  
precabatur  
mitterent  
alterum e  
Consulibus,  
qui senem  
se, & so-  
lum, in  
conspicuum  
eorum cum  
aliquo mi-  
litari praefi-  
dio perdu-  
ceret. Suct.

We must  
not proud-  
ly despise  
prodigies.  
This con-  
tempt un-  
did Alex-  
ander. App.

Perseus.  
Justin.  
Cassius.  
D. Hales.

Dion saith,  
Tiberius to surprize  
and en-  
trap Seja-  
nus, caused  
the Senate  
to be told,  
he would  
give him  
the power  
of a Tri-  
bune.

Nihil non  
aggressuri  
sunt homi-  
nes, si mag-  
nis concur-  
bus magna  
premia  
proponan-  
tur. Liu.

made a sacrifice to himselfe; for so he was accustomed, there also was found about the necke of the same statue a little cord.

Tiberius judged, the Destinies conspired with his revenge to ruine him, and therefore continued his subtillties, causing a bruit to be spread, he would raise him to the principall charge of the Empire. Yet at the same time dispatched *Nevius Sertorius Macro*, with commission to present his letters to the Senate, to seize on the person of Sejanus, to set *Drusus*, who was in prison at liberty, that he might rally together all his friends against the common enemy, if opposition were made.

The place of Colonell of the Guard, which Tiberius had given to *Macro*, encouraged this execution. Princes who desire to be well served ought ever to make the quality of the service appeare by the recompence. He came secretly

cretly to Rome, communicateth the cause of his arrivall to *Consull Memmius Regulus*, and not to his Colleague (for he was a creature of *Sejanus*) and to *Gra- cinnus Laco* Captain of the watch. He found them all very ready, to sacrifice this wretch to publicke hatred.

The Consull summoned the Senate for the next day to the Temple of *Apollo*, and caused this scrowle to be affixed to one of the pillars of the Gallery.

In an happy houre.

Memmius Regulus shall assemble the Senate tomorrow early in the morning in the Temple of Apollo, there the Conscript Fathers are to be, and there matters important shall be treated. Penalty for the absent, inexcusable.

The Se-  
nate stay-  
ed in the  
Temples,  
or holy  
places.

The word  
was, Bonum  
fatiolum,  
Well be-  
fall it.

TO

Prima luce.  
Cic.

To give example to others, he was one of the first, he entred in with the Ensignes of his dignity, the purple robe, twelve Lictors marching before him, making way. Being entred, he sacrificeth wine and honey, takes his place in the Ivorie Chaire; the other Senators doe the like, ranking themselves in their severall seats.

*Macro encountered Sejanus, who (as yet) was scarcely entred, and seeing him somewhat troubled that he brought him no letters from Tiberius, said in his eare: There is better newes, I bring you the power of a Tribune.* This satisfied him: his friends were quickly made acquainted with it, and much rejoiced saying to themselves, hereafter all which fortune would grant to the Romans, should passe thorow their hands, or be pronounced by the mouth of their Master.

*Macro*

Qualem  
quisque  
sortem, si-  
rumque  
habebat in  
mea manu  
positum est,  
quod cuique  
mortaliū  
fortuna da-  
sum velit,  
meo ore  
pronunciat.  
Sen.

*Macro presenteth his letters and retireth, cauleth the Souldiers to assemble, under colour he was to give them notice of the Emperours commands: and by this meane left those of the watch, to guard the Temple, and the other who followed Sejanus, repaired to the field and ensigne. Being there he assured them the Emperours favour to acknowledge their services, and gratifie them with a donative. There was not a man, who lent not an open eare to this speech, and promised not to be ready. He chose a good number to guard the passages, and the Temple of Apollo: That done hee presented his letters to the Senate, opens his Commission, retireth, leaves Laco there, and hasteneth to give direction in the other parts of the City.*

*These letters are read, which expressed an afflicted and trembling*

*Those pre-  
sents were  
armours,  
pikes, en-  
signes,  
scarfes,  
chaines, &  
crownes.*

The authority of a Prince cannot descend more low, than when he dare not speake plainly to his subjects, upon any thing which displeaseth him.

The tragical end of *Sejanus* is well expressed in the french *Tiberius* of M. le Maistre the chiefe Phyſitian of Mounſier.

bling spirit, that durst not unfold, but in broken words, what he had upon his heart, against the ingratitude and treachery of his servant, they were confuted by divers affaires and out of order; the beginning upon things indifferent, the sequel of other matters more important, pursued with many complaints of the immeasurable power of *Sejanus*. Afterward he fell upon other occurrents, intreating the Senate to grant out Processe against two Senators, familiar friends of *Sejanus*, and lastly commanded, but as betweene both, that they should vigilantly observe the actions of *Sejanus*. There was not a word of putting him to death, so much did hee feare, lest the great reputation he had in every place might oppose him, and that in case matters succeeded not according to his desire, hee might ever reserve a liberty to declare himselfe.

But

But as feare belieues all it imagineth, so the friends of *Sejanus* finding not in this letter what they expected, shrunk from him, as from a place threatned with thunder. When the favour of a Prince forsaketh one, it is dangerous to come neare him, disastrous infections.

Here Dion observeth how variable the minds of men are, saying, before the Emperours letters were read, there was not a Senator, who offered not his service to *Sejanus*, and asked not how he pleased to employ him. But perceiving the minde of *Tiberius* altered, they changed in an instant. Thoſe which stood farre from him, looked ſo fully on him, ſuch as were neare, removed farther off, they who before accounted it an honout to wait on him, now held themſelves disgraced to ſit neare him. And where are men to be found who in adversity remember be-

M ne-

*Aiquis que  
pauperis  
Dat vires  
fame nullo-  
que autem  
matorum.  
Que finxe-  
re timet.  
Lucin.*

*Cicero  
chargeſt  
Cariline  
with the  
like.*

*Adventu-  
rino iſta ſub-  
ſit. Ha vacue  
ſette ſuſt.  
Cic.*

Every one  
avoided a  
traitor.

*Quis in ad-  
versis bene-  
ficiis rum-  
serat me-  
moriā? aut  
quis ul-  
tā calomi-  
sis debet  
putar grati-  
am? quan-  
do fortuna  
non mutet  
fidem Vell.*

*Usque qua-  
que sapere  
uporet,  
ide rit re-  
luctus acerri-  
vum.  
Cic.*

nefits? or thinke themselves bound to the miserable? Great amiries are not to bee sought in Court, nor are petty enmities there to be found, and that is the caufe why wise men breake with none. Ill will, and hatred are harsh plants, the fruits they beare are alwaies lowre, there is no sweetneffe nor profit, but in amendment of manners, that the enemy may not lay hold on the life, or fortune of him whose fall or ruine he thirsteth.

Sejanus did ill to come into the Senate, when he saw Macro brought him no letters. Providence which turneth her eye on every side, and is a strong buckler against fortune, failed him. Nay hee should have gone out when he understood the jealoufies, which Tiberius let fall in this letter, and had he beene followed by those of his faction, the rest would haue censured his power by his courage. But seeing no-

thing very expresse against himself, he thought they were vapors of his melancholy, and certaine inequalities, and that there was not any so hardy, as to disgust him.

The Consull Regulus called him, he sitteth still; but not out of arrogance, for he was much humbled, rather indeed because he was not accustomed to obey, or be commanded. Hee called him the first and second time, & stretching out his hand, saith, *Sejanus come hither.* Sejanus answereth. *Doe you call me?* (Sr.) Yea, saith the Consull, *Sejanus* steps forward, and in an instant Laco Captaine of the watch stood before him, and all the Tribunes round about, that he might not goe out.

The day of this memorable act, was the eighteenth of October, which is knowne, because Tiberius ordained the fifteenth of the Calends of November, should

Presump-  
tion con-  
temneth  
safetē.

Words of  
command  
are harsh  
to those,  
who haue  
never o-  
beyed.

*Decretum  
ut xv. cal.  
utrinque  
nevis dies  
per omnes  
ennos do-  
num lovi  
sacrae cur.*

S. C. actum  
ut pena  
dimitatoris,  
in decimum  
semper diem  
deferrere-  
tur. Suet.

be solemnized at Rome, both for the death of *Sejanus*, and of *Agrippina*. And if the ycare likewise bee observed, it was of Romes foundation the 785. and of the raign of *Tiberius*, the eighteenth and from the birth of Christ the 34. There was no danger of hastening his judgement, or of commencing proceſſe for his execution. The law of ten daies was not (as yet) made. All his life was a stremme of insolence, pride, violence, and fury.

*Dion* affirmes, that in one day he was arrested, condemned, & executed, and by the shortnes of time, we may guesse at the facility of proceeding, which were arbitrary, wherein such retardation, or expedition might be used, as they listed. Proceſſe against *Lentulus*, one of *Catilines* confederates was made in two daies; That, of *Clentius* continued long; This, of *Sejanus* was dis-

dispatched in a morning. The taske of things serious ending at noone, that which is done after dinner, was (as it were) out of time, as well in matters most pleasing and facile, as important and painfull, and now the Trum- pet which served as a clocke among the Romans having sounded the houre of tenne, no man expected any new relation.

*Memmius* did not put the Emperours letters into consultation, and that deceived *Sejanus*, who trusted to his friends and had he so done, the diversity of opinions would have marred the matter: For the length of discourses had wasted time, which hee was to gaine, to the end *Sejanus* his faction might not stirre. But to avoid the blame of doing all on his owne head, hee commanded a Senator whom he knew to bee a good Citizen, and well affected to *Tiberius*, to

*Aristotle* gave the morning to Phylosophy, it was *Ergon*, afternoon to eloquence, *ratiōnē*.

The Conſul asking advise of a Senator ſpake this word. *Di-*  
*or.*

speak his opinion. Dion nameth him not. This man said.

### The speech of a good Citizen.

A Magistrate who had discovered a conspiracy, and seems fearfull to remedy it, is as faulty as the Conspirator himselfe. sal.

**T**He affaire here presented (Fathers Conscrip<sup>t</sup>) is of so great consequence, that according as you herein shall make resolution, the weale-publike is either shakēn, or confirmed, and we shall be traitors to our Country, ungrateful towards the Prince, unjust to our selves, if we exercise not therein all sincerity, and fidelity. Cæsar with one hand sheweth the mischiefe unto us, with the other theremedy: The mischiefe, the conspiracy of Sejanus: The remedy, the imprisonment of Sejanus. I doubt not, but the evill is greater in his knowledge, then he expresseth in his letters, yet hold I the remedy more extreme than he supposeth, we can not be assured of the person of Sejanus in delivering it up to a Magistrate:

gistrate: Who will take this charge upon him? Nor may wee do it by the Guard: he commandeth them, nor by committing him to any private house, he will not abide there long: Nor can it be done by his cautions: what assurance is there in state affaires, as they now stand? we cannot answer it, but in detailing him prisoner. The prison is but for slaves: there is not any for a Roman Citizen, a Consull, or Senator, much leſſe for him who hath commanded over people, Senate, and Consuls. Our predecesſors will rise out of their graves to defend this privilege, (the onely marke of our ancien liberty) for they thought, to binde a Citizen of Rome was a great offence: to strike him a crime, to kill him, a Parricide. The prison is the place of punishment among the Romans, and of custodie among Barbarians.

There is none, but those who know not Sejanus, or are ignorant

Eminent persons were put into the custody of Magistrats Lemnius was committed to Lent. Spinib. Cæthegusto Q. Corniss. cius, statilis to C. Cæsar, cepar. to Cn. Terentius: The first prison was built by Aucus Martius, or Tarquin Facinus vinciri ci- vum Roma- num, scelus verberari, paricidium necari. Cic.

Digenes said, there had beeue some who new themselves in the tempest before the vessell was drowned. Licinius Macer said to Cicero, Non damnatus, sed reus pereo. Val. Aliens crudelitas procuracionis suscipere. Sen.

of Tiberius can doubt the necessity of proceeding farther: It would be a great wonder, if hee should prove innocent, and an unspeakable unhappinesse, if he escape us. He must be made an example, and to the end hee may not take from the publicke, let us deale surely: Hee would have courage enough to drowne himselfe in the storme, and not expect the ship-wrecke of the vessell. Our Ancestors have beheld, how Caius Licinius Macer, seeing himselfe lost, and the Judges ready to give sentence against him, got up to the top of the house, and thence threw himselfe headlong, to have the honour to dye uncondemned, though acced. He was willing to prevent his iudgement, and make himselfe his owne Executioner.

The Weake-publicke is here in question, the safety of the Prince, the preservation of the State, our Altars, our Lawes. I am ashamed to preferre our owne interestes before

fore the commands of Cæsar. The seuerest way ought to be the most just. We are to preferre our safeties before our honours. There is no meanes to stop this evill, but by arresting Sejanus, and no cause to stay him, but by imprisonment. The person, time, and cause oblige you to make your selves sur of him, and to chase away the evill by the evill it selfe. Sejanus is raised upon the ruines of the State, it is fit the State repaire it selfe on the ruines of Sejanus. It is a great sloth in the Senate, to have tolerated so much: Cæsar doth an infinite favour to the people of Rome, to free them from this tyranny: Let us not lose the honour to have seconded his piety: It shall be more glorious to follow Sejanus to prison, than to serv him at liberty. If he be innocent, the Gods are unjust.

What terrour soever possyed the Assembly, the resolution was hazardous, and this counsell being approved, every one judged

In deliberations you must alwaies incline rather to that which is life, than to that which is convenient, or profitable.  
Dion. Hal.

prava consilii in iniuria facta.  
Tac.

cui genua  
flexerunt,  
ac ut Deo  
fuerint  
sacrata. Dis.

Pallis ex-  
cilio ad-  
ratus ac-  
clausatus  
put. Pitr.

it reasonable to execute; nor examine the will of the Emperour. He was led to prison, and the Consull would trust none but himselfe with the adventure of this conduct, lest hee might escape, or be rescued from him. Thus the same Senators, which an hour before accompanied him to the Senate, now led him to prison. Those who offered sacrifices to him, as to their Gods, who prostrately bowed their knees to adore him, now jested at him, when they beheld him dragged from the Temple to the Gaole, from supreme honours to the lowest shame.

Yea, some there were so transported with fury against him, that seeing him to cover his eyes with the skirt of his robe, with which he veiled his head (for the Romans ware no hats, but in the wars, or time of sicknesse, nor caps but in a voyage) they pulled it away, despoyling him thereof for

for the greater disgrace, and with their fists giving him many blowes on the face.

The people flouted at his fall, detested his life, reproached his insolence, cryed out on the Traytor, and had they been suffered, he had not come unmaimed to the prison; for they at that instant would have dragged him to Sestertium, the most infamous place about Rome, & where the bodies of slaves were throwne. But supposing he was not imprisoned to preserve his life, they flew upon his statues. Those in a moment were overthrown, and were seen to be drawne up and down with ropes, to be melted in the fire. Pieces of that head, which was adored as the second in the whols world, and which made the Senate tremble, were converted to meane moveables of the kitchin.

There was so little space between his glory and his fall, that

he

*Plutarch*  
saith, the  
head of  
*Galba* was  
cast into  
Sestertium  
Upon this  
*Dios* ma-  
keth a no-  
table ob-  
servation  
of humane  
inconstan-  
cy.

*Ex facie*  
*toto orbe*  
*secundis,*  
*sicut uite*  
*o*is*, peives,*  
*sartogo,*  
*petalle.*  
*Iuvan.*

Dien note that Sejanus saw his statues to be broken, and from it perceived what happened to himself. A man must be seasonably prepared for a fall, and rather to goe out, than expect to be expelled. Necessary formes. Accusatio criminis defiderat, emulsi pessimis, homines ut notari, argumen-  
to probit, respon-  
sione con-  
firmer.  
Cic.

he was so soon stricken, as threatened. He beholding at the entrance of the Palace, what was done to the statues, imagined the principall would be ill intreated: but his greatest misery was, to have been no better prepared for this calamity. *The ordinary error of those who are lifted to great dignities, is, not to be wise, till after their falls, and having the meane to descend at their eas', expect till they are forced to leape downe the staires.*

After Sejanus had passed the wicket: the Consull, that hee might not lose time, returneth to the temple of Apollon, enters into, that, of Concord, which was neer unto it, to grant processe against the prisoner; for it were a wrong to the reputation of the great justice of the Senate, to think it sorgot any thing of form, in an affaire of so remarkable importance; where it was necessary the authority of justice should cover

cover the defects, might happen in the proceeding, the processe being begun by imprisonment.

The Accusers, Witnesses, Complices, were all heard in full Senate: For the instruction was publicke, and the people had (as it were,) environed the seats of the Judges. In it there was much authority, for the Majesty of the Senate was exposed to the view of all, nothing covered it but heaven, there was much sincerity, so many eyes, so many Judges, great example, all acted with order and discipline.

It is not to be doubted, but some excellent Orator was allowed him, more for ceremony of defence than opinion of innocence, and that performance of duty was recommended unto him; for the more vigorously his cause were maintained, the more would be the triumph of truth. Thereupon the Judges watchfully observed the countenance of

*Populue  
Romane  
circum sub-  
sellia coro-  
nam facit.*  
Cic.

*Antigonus  
being in-  
treated to  
judge a  
cause in  
private, an-  
swered: It  
is better  
in the Pa-  
lace, un-  
leslie we  
should be  
unj. st.*

*Plut.  
Timor, per-  
turbatio,  
suspenso,  
incertus  
vultus, cre-  
bra coloris  
mutatio,  
que fuerant  
anteas suspi-  
ciofa, aper-  
ta, atque  
manifesta  
faciunt.*  
Cic.

the accused, and satisfied themselves often in doubts of intention, by troubles of the countenance; the aire of which many times possessesthe place of words.

Besides, *Macro* had given the word to the Consull, *It is Tiberius will, he dye*. They were not to expect any other commandement, nor to send him the opinion of the Senate. It was necessary for the State; and though he entred not culpable into prison, his quality permitted him not to goe out innocent. The Judges could not erre, when they obeyed the directions of the Prince, who beholdeth his own affaires with an eye different from that of his Officers.

Many times the Senate related to the Prince what they had creed.

*Dannaturi  
jurani nisi  
se preci-  
bus dare.  
Sen.P.*

The Judges make an oath to give sentence according to conscience. Neither Consull, nor Pretor deliver opinions, but take verdicts. The number of Senators was great, *Cicero* reckoneth three-

threelcore and fifteen against *Piso*. It was lessened under the Emperours, and there were to be forty by *Augustus* his Edict, to make a Decree. Sentence was given either by discourse, or writing, by a little Tablet put into a box, or by silence and gesture, as at this day by veiling bonnet, a signe of consent, or by the pace, when those who were of one part, ranked themselves together against the contrary: this was called going on foot. There was here but one voyce to be heard: *Let Sejanus dye, let his posterity dye, let his memory dye, and be all his goods confiscated*.

The Senators were so animated, that it is certaine those, who knew the advantage they had aboue the rest (as *Albiatus* the loudest in speaking) were not silent, to gaine thereby the gracious favour of the Prince, yea, even they who chiefly depended on the wil of *Sejanus*: And doubt you

*As expe-  
ctandum  
/epinaginta  
quinque  
tabella diri-  
piant.Cic.*

Many times in notorious crimes they cryed out, *Hollis, Hollis*.

*Albiatus  
in alterca-  
tione vires  
suas nove-  
rat.Sen.P.*

*Nunquam  
si quis mibi  
credic amar-  
vi, Hunc  
benimem.  
Juven.*

The  
friends of  
*Sejanus*  
shewed  
themselves  
very passi-  
onate  
against  
him.

you not, but what was spoken among the people, who had nothing to lose, was also said by the Senators, who accounted all men lost, which had beene his friends.

These men were the bitterest, and said; If *Cesar* would extend clemency, it ought to be conferred on men, not monsters. If the Senate had not been carefull to conserve the glory of their mildnesse, in the detestation of horrible punishments, he had suffered as a Parricide, his mouth had been stopped with weeds; wooden slippers had been fastened to his feet, he had been towed up in a sack with a Dog, a Cock, an Ape, and a Viper, (impious creatures, companions for a wretched man) lastly, he had been sent to the river upon a cart drawn by two black Oxen, for a mark of the enormity, and hideousnesse of the crime.

But never hath any Common-  
wealth

wealth been more curious then the Roman, to preserve this ancient reputation of humanity and courtesie. *Messius Suetonius* for his treason, was drawn in pieces by four horses; all the people turned their eyes from a spectacle of such horrour. This was the first and last punishment in this kinde of rigour, which had made the Judges forget, that lawes and penalties were ordained, not for Tygers, or Ounces, but for men.

It was expedient the execution of *Sejanus* his sentence should be shewen, as in other mens cases, but that herein more pompe for the occasion, and example was to be used, and more diligence and power for safety, and for that in this many Magistrates were employed. Here is briefly delivered all which must be sought in many places, & which confusedly, and variously is related,

Judge-

*In aliis  
gloriari licet  
nulli genti-  
um minores  
placuisse  
penas.  
T. Liv.*

In an ar-  
rest it is  
observed,  
*Quo refe-  
rence, Quo  
decernente,  
& Quo  
primum  
affentiente.*

*Carnifex  
non modo  
foro, sed  
etiam eis  
hoc, ac spiri-  
tu prohibe-  
tur. Cic.*

*Inversans  
induit  
Magistratus  
vestem.  
Sen.*

*Lex non  
irascitur,  
sed consti-  
tuat. Sen.*

Judgement being signed by him, who registers the Acts, and Letters of the Emperour, by him who first delivered his opinion which was followed by the rest, and by the Consull, who decreed what was resolved on: the executioner was sent for, whose abode by the law of the Censors might not be in the City.

The trumpet assembled the people, sounding before the gates of the temple, before the house of the man condemned, and in publicke places. The Consull or Pretor mounteth up to his throne, puts off his purple robe, or turneth the wrong side outward, or else taketh one of black, as a sad and dismal habit, yet not disposing his countenance to anger, or Melancholy, but retaining the comelinesse, and gravity of the law, which is not angry with any man.

The condemned is led forth, the Vshers command silence, the Consull

Consull pronounceth sentence, which is written in a Tablet, and turning himself towards the executioner, sayes, *Do according to law*, or more plainly, *passeon*. They abstain from the harsh word, kill, hang, knock him down, as if one should command a servant to crush a scorpion, or a Caterpiller.

The executioner bound his hands behinde him, the trumpets sounded whilst he prepared for execution, and the condemned disposed himself to death. Time was not at discretion: Nero never gave more than an houre for one to make himselfe ready for the mortall blow. As in funerals, there were instruments, which sounded sad and mournfull aires, with Cornets for great men, or with the flute for inferiours, which was called Symphony, So likewise at executions the trumpets sounded an alarum, as it were a charge, or an onlet, to march

*Fit a praeco-  
ne gloriatur.  
Sen. P.  
Quibus a-  
nimis adver-  
tire in dam-  
natos ne-  
cessitate est, non  
dicunt occide  
non morere,  
sed lege, age.*

*Crudelita-  
tem impe-  
rii verbo  
misiore  
subducunt  
Sen. P.*

*Noxio post  
serga ligan-  
tur manus.  
Sen. P.*

*Adbibe na-  
tur legiti-  
ma verba,  
canitur ex  
altera parte  
clavigum.  
Sen. P.*

*Quis nam  
Delator?  
quibus iudi-  
citis? quo  
sepe proba-  
vit? Nibil  
berum, ver-  
boſa, &  
grandis epi-  
ſtola venit.  
A Caprea:  
bene babet,  
nil plus in-  
terrogo.  
Juven.*

*Supplicium  
more ma-  
joru. Tac.*

march on to death.

In the meane space the people amazed at so suddaine a judgement, aske the cause thereof, one sayes for what offence is he condemned? who was his accuser, what confederates, what witnessses, Is there nothing of all this? Another replyeth. A large and long letter is come from Caprea, And a third sayes it is sufficient, we need know no more, All is well.

The forme is no otherwise expressed, than as Dion hath set it downe, and the words hee ueth signifie, he was condemned and executed.

It is certaine there was no rumour concerning his punishment. When any one among the ancients was condemned as a delinquent, it was to banishment (the civill death of a Roman Citizen.) The gibbet, empaling, & gallowes, wild beasts, the halter, the hang-men were

for

for slaves, and the baser sort of people. It is long agoe, said Petrus Thrassus to Nero, since there was any speech at Rome of the hang-man, or the cord; the lawes have ordained punishments which correct the crimes without infamy in respect of time, without cruelty in regard of the Judges. Traitors, Rebels, enemies of the common-wealthe, leaped headlong from the Tarpeian Mount. Manlius was throwne from the top of the hill a thwart the rockes, and he had as Plutarch saith, the Capitoll for witnessse of his most fortunate Acts, and greatest Calamity; this punishment was inflicted upon him for having enterprized upon the government of the common-wealthe. A punishment of all the most dreadfull, for the rocke was rough, of an admirable heighth, the middle and sides bordered (as it were) with sharpe points like tainterhooks, and

*Sunt pena  
legibus  
confitentes  
quibus fine  
iudicium fa-  
vitis, &  
temporum  
infamia sup-  
plicia dece-  
rnuntur.  
Tac.*

*Tarpeio pro-  
diuores, bo-  
steve publi-  
ci impoman-  
tary. Sen.*

*Locus idem  
in uno bo-  
mine, & ex  
imia glorie  
monumen-  
tum & pa-  
nultima'is  
fuit. T.  
Livi.*

Moles abs-  
cissa in pro-  
fundum, fre-  
quentibus exspirata  
saxis, Sen.

Nondum  
caput ense  
rotare. Lu-  
can.

Et iste cum  
amicis cana-  
ret iudicatu-  
ris, homo  
occisus est.  
Sen. P.

and if the body fell upon them, it was eyther broken, or more violently cast off. The very sight of it had horror, and who once fetched this leape, was sure enough never to make another.

The heads also of offenders after the civill warre were cut off, not with an axe (as anciently) but with a sword, and this punishment was so new, that a Courtesane at the table of Proconsull *Flamininus*, saying she never had seene it, bee caused the head of a prisoner, to bee chopped off by the hangman. *Valerius Antius* gave the like satisfaction to a Lady whom he loved. Behold here goodly Magistrates, who play with the lives of men, and the authority of lawes, to content the cruell curiosity, the one of a Citizens wife of Placentia, the other of a trull, whose name was so odious, that if the Vsher meeting her in the consuls

pat.

passage, had not chased her away, the dignity of the office had suffered.

*Sejanus* had not his head stricken off; the punishment was too mild, in so violent and publicke fury. *Iuvenal* saith, that being dragged thorow the City with a hooke, the people admired at the greatnessse of his head, and large size of his lips. I suppose he was strangled in prison, for it was the most ordinary punishment, & *Tiberius* used it. After he had caused *Agrippina* to be put to death at Pandatia, he boasted what favour he had done in not commanding her to bee strangled, and would have the Senate to thanke him for it.

His three poore children were carried to prison, his daughter promised to the sonne of *Clodius* was deflowered neare to the gallowes by the hangman, because it was not permitted to

put

Magistras  
laesa, & ex-  
curti pro-  
consulime-  
rrerix non  
summove-  
tur. Sen. P.

Sejanus  
ducitur am-  
co spectan-  
des, gaudens  
omnes, que  
labra, quis  
illi vulnus  
eras? Juve.

Iactavii  
Cæsar  
quod non la-  
queo stran-  
gulata, ne-  
que in Ger-  
monias  
projecta fo-  
ret. Tac.

*Puella a carnifice fuxcalaque-um; compres-ſa. Tac.*

*Puella adeo neſcia, ut crebro inter rogaret quid ob de-letuum, & quo traberetur neque fatigata ultra, & poſſe ſe pauci-verbere mancri. Tac.*

The Ge-  
monian  
ſtaires in  
the third  
station of  
Rome,  
which was  
mount A-  
ventine

put a Virgin to death by torment. *Dion* saith ſhee was was ſlaine by the people. *Tacitus* thinkes his Sonne knew what they would doe and the hazzard he did incurre. There was a daughter of his ſo young, and of ſo little understanding, that hee cealed not to cry out, *What have I done? whither will they leade me? If I may be forgiven, I will doe ſo no more; There needeth nothing but a rod to correct mee.* The hang-man tooke these two by the throat and strangled them both. The bodies thus ſlain were fastned to the Gemonian ſtaires, which bare this naime, either frō the inventor, or from the groanes which there were heard. It was as the pillory, the open place of executions, there the ſtatues, and pourtraits of the condemned were ſet. The Gaole, the Court where they pleaded, & the Rols where they registered decrees, were built neare together; the ſtaires

ſtaires were in the ſame place at the foot of Tiber, wherinto they caſt the bodies.

*Seneca* and *Dion* differ, the one ſaith they dragged his body three whole daies, the other that the ſame day the Senate accompanied him to the Senate house the people hewed him in pieces, and that of a man, on whom Gods and Men had accumulated all that which might make him great and glorious, there was nothing left for the hangman to tye to his hooke, and caſt into Tiber. To reconcile them I ſuppoſe, after her was ex-ecuted, they ſet him on thofe ſtaires, that the people might ſee him, and that in this Fury they dragged him from thence in an instant, and having diſtended him on the banke of Tiber, they cut him in pieces, or perhaps in foureteene quarters, as many as the City had Wards, and that thofe pieces were drawne three

N      daies

*Quod die illius Senatus diduxerat populus in infructu divisi. Sen.*

*Ex eo nibil superfluit, quod carni-ſex rats... ret. Sen.*

You muſt looke on P. viii. of the 14. ſtations of Rome and what they con-taine.

dayes together about the Ci-  
ty.

All sorts of outrages were don to this miserable body, some through inhumanity, others for revenge, many for example, and all to the end, it might not bee thought, they had either loved, or knowne him. Juuenal relateth the discourse, which then was frequent at Rome, for every one gave liberty to his tongue according to his opinion. Behold the prose of his verse.

I perceive it is best to dye ;  
There is no doubt to bee made of  
it : The furnace wherein they are  
to be cast is very large : I met my  
poore friend Brutidius last day,  
neare Mars his Temple, hee was  
very pale, and much astonished.  
I feare least being called Ajax bee  
kill himselfe with his owne hand.  
But that we may not be taken for  
friends to Sejanus, and perish  
without defence, let us run to this  
body, whilst it lyeth on Tibers  
banke

Perituros  
audio mul-  
tos, nil dum  
biuum mag-  
na effor-  
nacula ut  
male defen-  
sus &c.  
Quam ti-  
mico. &c.  
curvatus  
precipites,  
& dum ja-  
cer in ripa  
calentius.  
Cesaris ba-  
stem, &c.  
& pavidi-  
m iugis er-  
vici atri-  
cia domi-  
nam rabi-  
te. vixne  
salutari, si-  
ca: Sej-  
nus? babe-  
re.

banke, and cry out alond, We tram-  
ple under foot the enemoy of Cesar.

He who is a servant let him re-  
nounce, and forsake his Master,  
let him take him by the throat,  
writh his necke, and drag him all  
trembling before the Commissa-  
ries. This is the way to save him-  
selfe, and be rewarded.

The people then made this dis-  
course of Sejanus in secret. Wouldest thou be followed and courted  
like Sejanus, have as much wealth  
as he, dispose of dignities, give the  
Ivory chaires, command over ar-  
mies, be accounted the Governoour  
of the Prince, dispatch his busines-  
ses, whilst he is in the straightened  
Grot of Caprea; with his troupe of  
Chaldeans, and Astrologers ?

Wouldest thou have command  
over the company which carrieth  
the dart, or three pointed Iavelin?  
Wouldest thou command over the  
Cavalry, over those bands, which  
abide in the palace to guard the  
Prince?

Tanun-  
dem, atque  
illi sellas  
donare cu-  
rulus.  
Itum exer-  
ciibus pre-  
poneret  
iutor  
baicri.

P. incipit  
angusta  
Capie armam  
in rupe se-  
dens, cum  
gr. ge  
Chaldee.

Qui volunt  
occidere  
quenquam,  
possessuunt,  
ut rebus la-  
tis par sit  
mensura  
magorum.

Why doest thou not desire it? They that will kill no man, wish to have the power. Every one affecteth honours, and riches, which are notwithstanding such, that the measure of their evils, who pursue them, equalleth the contentment they bring.

Love you better to weare the robe of Sejanus, whom you see dragged in the streets, than to be a Magistrate in the forsaken vil- lages of Fidene, Gabij, or be the Edile of Vlubris, which is almost desolate, and give judgement on measures, and weights, and cause those to be broken which are not lawfull? you must then confess, that Sejanus hath never knowne what is to be desired; For in pur- suing great honours and riches, he did nothing but prepare a scaffold for him selfe on a high Turret to fall downe, and cast himselfe head- long from the top thereof. What o- verthrew the Crassi, the Pompeyes, and him, that conquered the Quirites,

Ab Fide-  
narum, Ga-  
biorumque  
cſſe potestū:  
Et de mon-  
īia vī  
dicere:  
Numro/a  
parabat.  
Excelsa  
per iubu-  
ta aude  
axior eſſet.

Quirites, and scourged them like slaves? Truly, elevated fortunes, to which men mount by wiles and ambitious desires, such as maligne starres raise to ruine those that built them.

Few Tyrants have descended to the sonne in law of Ceres, and a naturall death: Their end was not dry, nor hath bloud been spared to moyſten it.

Seneca saw this execution, and yet wrote nothing therof, though he were then of an age to observe it: for he was in Rome fifteen yeares before the death of Au- gustus. He much wondreth, that of the body of a man of such emi- nency and magnificence, nothing remained for buriall.

If excessive joy killed a mo- ther, what may extreme sorrow? Apicata was assailed with an in- credible griefe, when she saw her children on the Gemonian steps. Cratesiclea, mother of Cleomenes King of Sparta, whose

Summus  
nemplacuſ:  
Magnaque  
num n. hys  
vita exau-  
dita mali-  
niuſ. Iuven.

Si admor-  
tem agit  
maris  
magnum  
gaudium?  
quid mag-  
nus dolor?  
Sen.

Cratesicles  
begged  
she might  
be put to  
death be-  
fore her  
children,  
but the  
Hangman  
slue them  
before her  
face. Plut.

Ordo scle-  
rius per Api-  
catam Se-  
janu predi-  
cione, tormento-  
nis Eudemiu-  
s ac Lygdi-  
us patefactus  
est. Tac.

head Ptolomie cut off, and hang-  
ed his body on a paire of gal-  
lowes, seting her children slaine  
before her eyes, laid; *Oui alas, my  
children, whither are you gone?*  
*Apicata* spake to these innocent  
which she beheld on this infam-  
ous place, *Poore Infants, where  
are you now?* In this anguish she  
retired to her house, where she  
wrote a discourse of *Drusus* his  
death, sent it to *Tiberius*, which  
done, she slue her selfe.

She had not stayed so long be-  
fore she discovered it, had not  
the love of her children with-  
held her; for well she knew, that  
in crimes of treason, they should  
suffer the like punishment with  
the father. She accuseth *Sejanus*,  
*Livilla*, *Lygdes*, and *Eudemus*,  
these put upon the wheel, (which  
was the torture) confessed all.  
*Tiberius* caused divers to be rack-  
ed, to discover the complices. It  
was told him there was one arri-  
ved, who came from Rhodes,  
and

and forgetting he was a creature  
of his own, whom he had sent, he  
presently caused him to be put to  
the torture, and having found his  
own errour, commanded he  
should be killed, that he might  
not divulge the wrong he had  
sustained. This was to preserve  
the reputation of a just Prince,  
by a notable injustice.

The death of *Sejanus* gave  
confidence, and safty to *Tiberius*,  
and when he was moved to  
chuse twenty Senators to be al-  
wayes neare about him with  
swords by their sides, he antwe-  
red; *Life was not so deare to him,*  
*that he would submit himselfe to  
preserve it by armes. But vitiou-*  
*s and exorbitant habits passe not a-*  
*way.* And he, not causing his vi-  
ces to dye before his death, had  
not the pleasure of seeing his ene-  
mies dye before himselfe. He so  
sensibly resented the remorse of  
this, that he protested to the Se-  
nate he daily dyed. His conditi-

Errore  
dedito. oc-  
cidi jussi: ne  
divulgaret  
injuriam

Mili vita  
ianii non  
est ut armis  
irrgenda sit.  
Tac.

*Tandem  
scinora, &  
fugitio is  
supplicium  
vertuntur.*  
Tac.

*Ut corpora  
verberibus,  
iuxta terras, ri-  
e libidine  
Tyrannorum  
animus  
diaceratur.*  
Tac.

*erunt Ti-  
berio fran-  
cice exco-  
tiatum vitri  
tempera-  
mentum ut  
flexibile  
esset, &  
estram arti-  
ficiis offici-  
nam aboli-  
tam, ne eris,  
argenti,  
auri, metal-  
li pretia  
detraheren-  
tur. Plin.*

on was not subject to the judgement of men, but he was convinced in his own conscience, which accused, condemned, and executed him. Whereupon a wise man, who lived in that time, said; *If the souls of Tyrants might be seen, more ulcers would appeare through lust, than they made wounds on bodies murthered by their cruelty.* Of all his violences, the most execrable was the death of the Architect: who skilfully re-edified, and repaired the great portall of Rome, and presented a glasse unto him, brake it, and gathering the pieces together, instantly made it up again, having found out the secret that this substance obeyed the last office of fire, and became malleable. *Pliny layes, he abolished it, lest gold, silver, and brasse should be the lesse esteemed.* What an ornament had it been, if from an hearb, which hath neither beauty, scent, nor is good to taste for man,

man, or beast, a substance should be derived, hard, solid, and transparent?

An invention notwithstanding, which the precedent ages were ignorant of, his admired, and ours ever may deplore, for we shall no more have men, who in this kinde will be grieved, that that, which may benefit posterity should long be concealed. *Tiberius intermitted none of his profuse, voluptuous, and superfluous expences: He entertained from the sweat and labours of people, infinite numbers, not only unprofitable, but pernicious to the Common-wealthe: and caused those to be put to death, whose industry might bring ornament and utility.* Oh! what disorder in the times, and men? the reward of an admirable invention is denied, and *Sejanus selleth one of his Eunuchs for 3500. Desterces.* But, that was during the calamity of the Empire.

*Priscus ten-  
poribus  
summum  
certamen  
inter humi-  
nem: quid  
profuturum  
seculis, diu  
lateret. Pet.*

*Malus im-  
perator qui  
ex vii celi-  
bus, provinci-  
aliis bponies  
non neces-  
sarios, nec  
reipublice  
aules alijs.  
Lampr.*

*Injuriam  
luci fecit  
in luctu  
civitatis,  
quoniam ar-  
guere nulli  
vocabat.*  
Plin.  
The most  
pleasing  
tribute  
was the  
twentieth,  
which is  
taken up-  
on inher-  
itances,  
legacies,  
kindred,  
and ex-  
empt poor  
*Extraneis  
facile,dome-  
sticis grave.*  
Plin.

pire, and when no man was suf-  
ficed to reprove his profusions.

The reigne of *Tiberius* was  
much more terrible and cruell  
after *Sejanus*, then it had been  
before. He would not have the  
people repaire by his death, the  
evils he had done in his life. *Au-*  
*gustus* ordained a military trea-  
tury, which he filled with three  
tributes, as with three living  
sources: from the twentieth part  
of inheritances, from the twen-  
ty-fifth upon the sale of slaves,  
from the hundredth of all that  
which was in trade. *Tiberius* ha-  
ving reduced the kingdome of  
Cappadocia into a province,  
thought by the increase of this  
revenue, the people should be  
discharged of so much: and ther-  
fore instead of an hundred, he  
decreed they should pay but the  
two hundredth part. But after the  
death of *Sejanus*, as repenting  
himselfe of this favour, he redu-  
ced it to the hundredth again. Ne-  
cessity

cessity of affairs excused it, which  
suffers not tributes to be denied,  
it is a fury that catcheth the  
State by the throat, if not appea-  
led. Those who are constituted,  
to stand in the front of employ-  
ment, ought to render the people  
capable of this verity. If you will  
in peace possess particular bene-  
fits, needs must you succour pub-  
lick necessities. When *Anthony*  
the Triuivir was sent into Asia,  
to draw aid from thence, he gave  
no other reason, but this. Neces-  
sity will have it so.

Thus (saith he) that you may  
not be expelled from your Townes  
and Territories, it is fit you give  
money for the entertainment of  
Souldiers. There is not so much  
required, but that you may freely  
part with it. You gave in two  
yeares, to Brutus and Cassius our  
enemies, the tributes often: we  
need no more to be freed from af-  
faires, so you this one time giue it.

He drew from them 200000.  
talents

*Da operam,  
ut omnes  
intelligant  
se sibi esse  
velint, ne-  
cessarii esse  
parendum.*  
Cic.

*M. Ant. in  
Asia after  
the battell  
of Philip-  
pi.*

*Sic Iheri-  
stotes de-  
manding  
money of  
the Andri-  
ans, said to  
them, he  
was ac-  
companied  
with two God-  
diles,  
Perlivasi-  
on and  
Con-  
straint,  
Plut.*

By the  
quality of  
tribute, we  
may judge  
of the  
power of  
the tribute  
given.

*Nec quis  
genitum  
sit a mis,  
nec arma  
sine stup-  
dio, nec  
Rifendit  
sine tributis  
Iugri  
queuit.*

*Tac.  
Malo iun-  
dere pecus,  
quam de-  
glubet. D.  
Tib.*

talents, which was 20000. yearly, amounting in all to twelve millions.

A Common wealth cannot maintaine it selfe in peace, if it be feeble, nor bee fortified without armes: armes are not entertained without money, and money is not derived, but from tributes. But moderation is therein to be used, and the Prince imitating *Tiberius*, should sheare the sheep, not fly it, and render the disposure thereof chaste, sincere, and pure, as drawn from the bloud, sweat, and teares of his people, for expences profitable, necessary, and glorious, not for profusions, which neither afford contentment, nor reputation.

Happy is the Prince, who findeth honest men, whom he may trust with the care of his Exchequers, whereon dependeth the honour of his designes, the Majestie of his Crown, the tranquillity of his State: For they are, both

both the nerves which give motion, and the veines which entertain life, & as by the resolutio, and shrinking of nerves, the physicall body is many times deprived of motion and sence: So the politike without money cannot stirre, nor support it selfe: In a word, with revenues one accomplisheth, and comes to the end of all. He that hath the last Crown gains the triumph. They are sacred, the charge of them is given to *Saturn*, or to his Temple. *Cæsar* had not known how to raigne liberty, if he had not begun by this sacrilege, robbing the treasury of the Republicke, which was filled with all the spoyles of the Orient, and that which the *Fabri*'s, the *Scipio*'s, the *Cato*'s, the *Pompey*'s had by their victories acquired. The first note of the desolation of a State is drawn from the unjust, and irregular administration of revenues.

*Tunc con-  
ditus imo-  
eritur  
Templo,  
multis inta-  
ctus abannis  
Romani  
census popu-  
li. Euc.*

*Res familiarii in rebus quæretur à quibus est turpitudo. Cic.  
Conu. vi. 8.  
rnm luxuria, &c. ve-  
stium, agri  
civitatis  
indicia sunt  
Sen.*

*Hoc in re-  
publica  
ministrum  
Caiilmeriu.  
Cic.*

It is not enough, that such as have the charge thereof be vigilant, to make the expence not exceed the receipt, but it much importeth the State the meanes of particulars be husbanded without excesse, with order and modesty, as they ought to be acquired with honesty and justice. The disorders which are observed in apparrell, dyet, buildings, curiosities, and superfluity of private houses, are symptomes not onely of a sick, but a dying State. Troubles and seditions are commonly supported by the despaire of forlorne people, and such as have nothing to lose, of which condition were those, who entred into conspiracy with Catiline. Great and excessive were the confusions during the reigne of Tiberius; but such as were derived from former times; for he was wont to say, The Romans learned to dispend their owne meanes in civill wars, and the wealth

wealth of others among strangers. It is an admirable thing, that having provided against so many other exorbitancies, he would not correct the ryot and dissolution, which overflowed through the contempt of Somp-tuary Lawes. Was not this because he would not begin the example of reformation in his own house, surfeited with superfluities, or by reason disorder was grown into custome, and discipline; or that he would not unprofitably, and without effect, draw publicke dis-affection upon himselfe. His greatest reason was, nor, to expose his commands to contempr, nor open the veine, before he had the fillet ready to stanch the bloud.

These remarkable words which he spake to the Senate on this occasion, should be represented to Kings, as often as they institute lawes, the effects wherof were difficult and doubtfull. A Prince ought

*Non sum  
offensionum  
avidus. pro  
Rep. & scipio,  
ixanes &  
irritas jure  
deprecor.  
Tac.*

*Omnis ienda  
perius pra-  
valida &  
adulta viti-  
a, quam hoc  
adsequitur  
palam fieri,  
quibus fa-  
giliis im-  
pares simus*  
Tac.

ought rather to dissemble an inveterate disorder, and which is of much consequence, than to put his authority in hazard, and suffer his weaknesse publikely to appeare, especially when they are matters, which he cannot remedy.

After the execution of *Sejanus*, the Senate commanded the statue of liberty to be erected in the open Market place, and that every yeare on the same day *Sejanus* was put to death, a Combat on horse-backe should bee exhibited, and many beasts there slaine. A thing never done before. They likewise prohibited excessive honours to be conferred on any man, or to sweare by other name, than that of the Emperour.

All the friends of *Sejanus* ran his fortune, and received what they expected. The prisons were filled, some condemned to death, others banished, all deprived of their offices. The City seemed

*Quam male  
est extra le-  
gem viven-  
tibus: quic-  
quid meru-  
erunt sem-  
per expe-  
ctanti. Petr.*

a

a field, where nothing was to be seene but mangled bodies, or Ravens which rent them.

*Tiberius* was so accustomed to executions, that he caused all those to be put to death, who in prison were accused to have any intelligence with *Sejanus*: there were laid on the pavement an infinite number of dead men of all ages and conditions, eminent, noble, plebeian: It not being permitted any man to stand still to behold them, nor retire to bewaile them, for both the one and the other were reputed a crime. *Vitia* was punished with death, for having lamented her sonne *Geminus*: and because women were not to bee accused for attempting on the state, their teares were accounted criminall.

Sorrow was judged by the countenance, and grieve by the vehemency of passion, in such sort, that the bodies which *Tiber*

*Jacuit im-  
mensa stra-  
ges, omnis  
sexus, om-  
nis aetas,  
illustres, ig-  
nobiles.*  
Tac.

*Famine  
quia occu-  
panda rei-  
pub. argui  
non pole-  
rant obla-  
cbris in-  
susabatur.*  
Tac.

*Intercide-  
rat sortis  
humane  
commerci-  
um, ut me-  
ius quan-  
rumque sa-  
vitie glif-  
ceret, misé-  
ratione  
arcebatur.*  
Tac.

ber cast up to the shore, remained there without buriall: so much had feare dissolved commerce between nature, and compassion.

There was not a man who disavowed not the friendship of Sejanus. One only Roman Knight, *Marcus Terentius* accused to have beeene his friend, freely protested it, when the rest made semblance to renounce it. And thus he spake before the Senate.

### *Marcus Terentius* his speech.

IT were perhaps more expedient for my fortune to deny the crime, whereof I am accused, than confess it, but hap what will I profess to have beeene Sejanus his friend, I desire to be so, and much rejoyce to have gained his favour. I saw him a Colleague with his Father in the charge of the Praetorian Cohorts, and that hee in one

and

*Ausus est  
amplissi  
amicitiam,  
quam cete-  
ris falso ex-  
uerant. Tac.*

*Minus ex-  
pedit agnos-  
cere crimen,  
quam abnu-  
ere.*

There were 4. in the City, 3. in the garrisons. *Cunctis, qui  
neuisseri  
consilii ex-  
pertissimum,  
non ratus  
discrimine  
defendam:* Tac.

and the same time managed the affaires both of peace and warre: That those who were his most intimates, were powerfull in the Emperours grace, and the rest perpetually in terror, and the miserable condition of men accesse.

I will not here produce any man for an example, but with the sole hazard of my life defend all those, who have had no part in his last designes. For we did not our service to Sejanus of Vulsinium, but we followed the fortune of the house of Claudio, whereof hee by alliance, was become the head. We (Cæsar) honoured your Sonne in Law, your associate in the Consulship, and him who exercized your commands in the common wealth.

It is not for us to judge, what he ought to be, nor for what cause you raised him above others. The Gods have given you the sovereign aise of affaires: Nothing remaineth

*Non est  
noltrum  
affirmare  
quem supra  
ceteros, &  
quibus de  
causis ex-  
tollas. Tibi-  
sumnum  
rerum judi-  
cium di-de-  
dere: nobis  
obsequii  
gloria reli-  
ctae. Tac.*

*Abdicos:  
principis sen-  
tus, & si  
quid occul-  
tius perat,  
exquirere  
illudium.  
Tac.*

maineth for us herein, but the on-  
ly glory of obedience. We con-  
sider what we see, on whom you con-  
fer riches, and honours; and who  
can hurt or advantage us, and no  
man can deny, but Sejanus was all  
this. It is not lawful to penetrat the  
deepe intentions of the Prince, nor  
what in secret he aimeth at: That  
is, doubtfull, we therefore attempte  
it not. Thinke not on this last day  
of Sejanus, but the sixteene yeares  
of his prosperity. In that time we  
honoured Satrius and Pomponi-  
us, his freed men: and it was  
thought a glorious thing to bee  
knowne by his servants, yea, his  
Porter. What then shall we make  
no difference betweene those who  
have have served Sejanus, as the  
Emperours creature, and such as  
followed him in his designes, as  
an enemie of the Empire?

It is necessary this distinction  
be reduced into its just limits, to  
the end the treasons and conspira-  
cies against the state, and plots

con-

concerning the Emperors life may  
be punished, but for the friendship  
you have borne him, and the ob-  
servances we afforded him, are  
and the same reason ought ( oh  
Cæsar ) to discharge both you and  
us.

The boldnesse, and constancy  
of his speech which contained  
the thoughts of others, was of so  
great force, that such as were ac-  
cused as friends to Sejanus, were  
distinguished from his Confede-  
rates; and Cesar applauded to  
have confirmed the decree of the  
Senate, for the innocency of Ter-  
rentius, who loved not his  
friend to hate, or disavow  
him.

*Lentulus Getulicus took a clean  
contrary course from Varro. A-  
buidius Rufus accused him to have  
treated the mariage of his daugh-  
ter with the son of Sejanus, this  
man was in Germany in great  
esteeme, and authority for his  
mildnesse and modesty. He spake*

*rem puni-  
tur, de ami-  
cilia: &  
officiis, Ide,  
& re Ca-  
sar, & nos  
absolutit.  
Tac.*

Scipio said  
the worst  
word  
might be  
encoun-  
tered in  
friendship  
was that,  
which  
would  
have a  
friend  
love, as if  
he should  
hate. Cic.

*Infidie in  
remp. con-  
cilia cedis  
adversum  
imperato-*

a

at a full on horse-backe, and in armes, for which cause *Tiberius* condemned and exiled his accuser, an act of the wisedome of a Prince, never to threaten him, who is out of his danger.

*Getalicus* was hereof adver-  
sed, and knowing the humour of  
*Tiberius*, (who when he fell up-  
on a resolution, seldom flew from it, but according to the  
temper of his anger pressed, or  
retarded his revenge) let him  
know, he was in such a state, he  
would nor forget his owne safe-  
ty for another, and so sent him  
this letter, as insolent, as con-  
fident.

*Cæsar*, the alliance I contracted  
with *Sejanus*, hath not beeene upon  
my owne motion, but your advice:  
It may be I am deceived as well  
as you: but one, and the same  
fault ought not to discharge one,  
and ruine another. My loyalty  
hath hitherto beeene untainted,  
nor ever shall change, if some fa-

ction

*Getalicus effigia-  
mentia, mo-  
dicas severi-  
tate, mirum  
amorem ad-  
securus.*

Tac.

Confidēce  
doth not  
alwaies  
proceed  
from cou-  
rage, but  
from place  
and cauti-  
on.

*Idem error  
principis si-  
ne fraude  
aliis exitio  
non est ba-  
bendus.*

Tac.

ction be not prepared against me,  
and whosoever shall succeed mee  
in my charge, I will receive him  
as one, who attempted on my life.  
Let us accord as by way of treaty; *take*  
you therof the rest of the Empire, &  
my government.

Nothing but distance excused  
the incivility of this letter. He  
was the only man among the  
friends of *Sejanus*, that escaped.  
*Tiberius* cast his eyes down-  
ward, and shrugged his shoul-  
der, for his affaires were more  
maintained by reputation, than  
power. His fraile decrepit age  
cut off his hopes, and publike ha-  
tred augmented his jealou-  
sies.

*Mamercus Scaurus* was like-  
wise one of *Sejanus* his friends,  
but this amity had not so much  
power to ruine him, as the ma-  
lice of *Macro*, who was no lesse  
violent, than the other to rid  
him selfe of his enemies, but he  
therein proceeded with more

*Successorem  
non aliter  
quam indi-  
cum mortis  
aceperum.*

Tac.

*Principes ce-  
terarum re-  
rum potia-  
tur, ipse  
provinci-  
am retine-  
am.* Tac.  
*Publico o-  
dio & ex-  
treme cra-  
teres prin-  
cipis stant  
magis fama,  
quam vi.*

Tac.

*Haud mi-  
nus vali-  
dum ad ex-  
iria Ma-  
cronis  
odium qui  
eadem  
artes occul-  
tus exerce-  
bat.*

*Mamercha  
Scawna  
ancillarum  
membrum  
ore bianca  
acceptabat.  
Seu.*

*P. Vitellius  
erarii pre-  
fatus mili-  
tarem pe-  
cuniam re-  
bus novis  
obtulerat.  
Tac.*

*Crebris pro-  
lationibus  
spem, &  
metum jux-  
ta grava-  
tus. Tac.*

cunning, and secrecy. He was worthy of the friendship of *Sejanus*, for the conformity of his humours, to the others lusts, which *Seneca* representeth to be so brutish, that the only thought of them, polluteth the mind; hee staid not till condemnation, but followed the advice of *Sextia* his Wife, who perswaded him to kill himselfe.

*P. Vitellius*, who stoutly had supported the cause of *Germanicus* against *Piso*, was accused to have delivered to *Sejanus* the treasure of the common wealth, for he was one of the overseers of the Exchequer. His brothers answered for him, but seeing his processe continued long, he was much perplexed to languish betweene hope and feare, and so opened a veine with a Bodkin. His friends stanched the bloud and staied the spirits in their passage, much troubled to remaine in a body, which pleasing it selfe

in

in turmoiles, was resigned to sorrow, and heaviness.

*Pomponius* was sicke, in the same holpitall with the rest, but his patience made him survive *Tiberius*, who would have put him to death, because *Vetus Gallus* had retired into his garden, when they dragged *Sejanus*.

*Tiberius* bewailed *Sejanus*, not for the losse of him, but his owne interest, for whilst he lived all the blame was laid on him, whatsoever hee did either of injustice or cruelty, and after his death no man shared with him, in the generall hatred.

As much as the prosperity of *Sejanus* was admired, so much his fall bred terror, and amazement. Never any man before him, received greater Honours, more universall, more unexpected, and all the favours, and dignities, which the Kings of Europe could heape together, to

O

raise

*In custodia  
marco perit  
Suet.  
viram agri  
indine ani-  
mis finivit.  
Tac.*

*Honoribus  
functus es?  
Numquid  
aut tam  
magnis, aut  
tam univer-  
sis, quam  
Sejanum?  
Sen.*

*Diu multumque singulis quia posset, ostendit. Sen.*

*Clausum in ira aut fluminibus longinquis imperium.*

To see great men fall, is to behold mountains made leuell.

raise a man, might not be compared with these. He made all men know farre and neare, what he was able to doe. He sixteen yeares possessed the Sovereign power of an Empire, that commanded the whole world, and which had the rising and setting Sun, for limits. Euphrates confined its frontier towards the East, Mount Atlas; the Casquets of Nilus, the Delarts of Africa towards the South; the Ocean in the West, Danubius in the North: so that, as far as the Sun progressed, his commands went. What glory ever mounted so high, or fell so low?

He that should see a lofty mountaine, commanding over a goodly plaine to be swallowed up, to sink, and be ingulfed in a moment, would be amized; yet were not that more strange than to behold these great Colosses, overthrown in an instant. This breedeth astonishment, yet is the example

example neglected. Every one trusteth his own judgmet, thinking to walk the same way, but with another pace, and more securely than others. One ship alone, which shall happily return from a long navigation, is able to encourage an hundred men to attempt the like voyage; and the shipwrack of an hundred vessels, is not of power to divert one alone: *For, no man belieues ill luck is ordained for him.*

*Macro* Captain of the Guard, and *Laco* Master of the watch, were much better advised, the Senate decreed large honours to them, for this their good service. To the first the office of Preter, with power to sit in the rank of Senators, with a purple robe in sports, and publicke assemblies, and to the second, the office of Questor: they refused them, and *Dion* findeth out the reason of their denyall, upon the terror of an example so fresh.

O 2 They

Every one thinks to doe the best, and to carry himselfe more wisely, than they who are undone.

Great ser-vices for the State ought to be paid with honour, not money.

*Optimum  
est aliena  
miseria  
frui.* Plinie  
There are  
some can-  
n ever be  
wise by  
any exam-  
ple, but  
their owne  
ruine.

*Nemo uno  
quam im-  
perium  
flagitio  
acquisitum,  
bonis aribus  
exercit.*

Tac.  
*Avarus de  
Luna said  
to those  
who admi-  
red his  
fortune  
with the  
King of  
Castile.*

They thought it would be a great imprudence, to fall upon the same shelte, whereon Sejanus was shipwracked. It is better to be caught by the mishap of another, than our own. Wise men make use of the disgrace and detriment, which they see others suffer. And as Treacle is compounded of vipers, and wholesome remedies are drawn from poysone; so from the ruines and miseries of the wicked, honest men may derive precepts for direction.

Sejanus shall alwaies be alledged for a prodigious example of extreme insolence, and unfortunate ambition: and his tragical end will instruct us, that, *Power ill gotten, is never well used:* That we must not judge of felicity, till death, nor of the day, before night, nor of the building, till it be finished.

Death,

*Death, Fortune, Time, and  
the Course thereof, change in a  
moment. Favour acquired by  
merit, or good fortune, is lost by  
insolence, and the most secure  
cannot subsist, but by support of  
the Prince.*

You do ill  
to praise  
the buil-  
ding be-  
fore it be  
finished.

O 3 Vii-

*Unhappy Prosperity:*

O R,

*Philippa the Catanian.*

Written in French by P. Mathieu;

And

Translated into English

B Y

S<sup>r</sup>. T H. H A W K I N S.

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*Second Edition.*

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J U V E N A L.

—*Optata exegit gloria pœnas.*

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L O N D O N,

Printed by Thomas Harper,  
1639.

## To the King.

Sir,

**P**rovidence raised this Catanian from dust to glory, and pride threw her headlong from glory into dust againe. I present this History to your Majesty, as of a Monster of fortune, which you may peruse for Curiosity, others for Instruction: For (verily) it is a Modell, which figureth the shipwracke of those, who strike not saile to decline the Tempest.

P. Mathieu.

O 5 Ad-



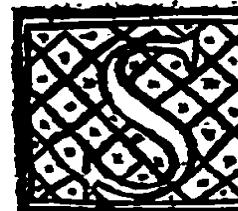
## Advertisement.

**B**occace, the Florentine is the Author of this Historie, in his last Booke, De casibus virorum illustrium, and he relateth it upon the credit of his owne eyes, and of two old Captaines, Marinus of Bulgaria, and Constantino de la Rocca, who knew her in the Court of Robert King of Naples. I conferred it, upon the first impression in France, with an ancient Manuscript, and with that which Iohn Ant. Sunmoto wrot of it.

It is a tragicall effect of the inconstancy of Fortune no lesse cunning in her Deceits, than giddy in her Favours. Shee could not raise this Woman from a more despicable degree, nor precipitate her from an higher, To shew, The Ascent to great Prosperities is of Glasse, the Top a Terror, and Descent a Precipice.



## Unhappy P R O S P E R I T Y.



States are as soone ruined by weake instruments, as violent attempts, and when the just anger of God will overthrow them, he doth not alwaies make use of his three-forked thunder, he therein employes nought else, but rats, frogs, and flies.

This truth affords more proofs and examples in the history of the Kings of Naples of the royll house of *Anjou*, than any other of that time, where may be seen what abject persons have made the

The ruine of States procee-deth from hidden causes, much more dan-gerous than the apparant. By feeble meanes God confoundeth proud power.

The kingdome of Naples possessed by Grecians, Sarazins, Normans, Almains, French, and Aragonians.

Massacre of the French in Sicily on Easter Tuesday, 29. of March, 1282.

the prosperity of this flourishing Kingdome to rotter, which was maligned by the most warlike people of the earth.

The Pope gave the title of it to Charles Earle of Anjou, and Provence: brother of Saint Lewis, but his valour alone got the possession thereof, which never was disturbed in his royll posterity, but through desperate counsels. That this History may be well understood, we must unfold the memorials of the warres of Sicily, between the Kings of Naples, and Aragon.

After the barbarous and inhumane Vespres of Sicily, Peter King of Aragon who was much blamed to have counselled and countenanced this cruelty, drew a powerfull Army together, dissembling his designe to covertly, that the Pope carefull to preserve publicke tranquillity, demanding of him what he would doe with it? he answered that

should his shirt know his secret, he would burne it, yet notwithstanding suffered the bruit to run currant, it was to passe into Africke.

Charles beleeved it, not imagining he had any plot upon Sicily, or that he would hinder him from chastising the Sicilians, who had added exorbitant cruelty to furious rebellion. He besiegeth the City of Messina, which turning its defence into submission and humilitie, begged pardon; but he still persisting in the impetuous thirst of revenge, grants them nothing at all, but the same conditions they had afforded the French. The Popes Legate intreats him to rest satisfied with their repentance, and to consider, that extreme rigour is a cure unseasonable; he will understand nothing contrary to his resolution, lest hope of impunity might cherish rebellion. Besides he promised himselfe that by

All warlike preparation of a Prince is suspected by neighbors

It is an ill example to hinder a Prince in the chastisement of his rebellious subjects.

No motion in the soule is more active, than anger, more violent than revenge.

In what manner soever a subject repenteth, clemency ought to be preferred before rigour. Princes many times are glad that subjects rebell, that so they may give them forefles to bridle them and take away their priviledges.

humbling this City, all the rest were conquered, and peradventure he was well enough pleased to have pretence to punish their faults, so to take away the priviledges they enjoyed, which verily were sharp thorns in the eys of the Kings of Sicily, they paying no other tribute, but what they accustomed under William the first, King of Sicily, *In matter of popular commotion among those who are absolutely subject, you must goe before the offence, and hinder them from doing amisse, but in others who live betwene servitude and liberty, you were better expect a revolt than prevent it, that you may have just occasion to despoile them of their priviledges.* The Pope pitied the Messinians, and Charles, not to render himselfe implacable, sweetned his anger. He pardoned them, on condition the besieged should send him 800. men to dispose of them at his discretion,

discretion. This article was so harsh amongst them, that they protested they would rather eat their wives, and children, burne them as the people of Araspus, and throw themselves into the flames after them, than give consent thereto. The wives to encourage the husbands to a common defence, presented their children, conjuring them not to leave them to the inhumanities wherwith they were threatened. They spake of nothing but stones, and spared not to carry many to the top of the wals, to knock down the approchers.

Peter of Arragon entred into Sicily under the title of occasion and opportunity. For he had not any, but that of *Constantia* his wife, who had the title of *Manfredus* her father, and *Manfredus*, of invasion. Private thefts are punished: It is a Kingly worke to invade another, and in great power, strength usurpes the place of reason.

The Ara-  
spians be-  
ing besie-  
ged by the  
Romans;   
burnt their  
wives,  
their chil-  
dren, and  
their  
goods,  
then des-  
perately  
fell upon  
the assai-  
lants, that  
themselves  
might be  
killed in  
killing  
their  
enemies.  
Private  
houses  
only think  
how to  
preserve  
their own,  
Princely  
how to  
invade  
others.

The Sici-lians found the Cataloni-ans harsh, proud, and untracta-ble.

Gaultier of Calata-girona declares against the Arrac-gonians, who took him, and hanged him.

reason. Messina is succoured. Charles inforced to retire with much sorrow, not to have temper'd his anger, and accepted the offer, which had assur'd him of the whole Island without a blow strucken. Then was the time his tongue did him ill service, for had it not discouered his heart, all Sicily wou'd have stood to his obedience. Other Cities fearing the like punishment having done the same fault, followed the resolution of the Messinians, and opened the gates to the Arragonians, who presently handled these people so harshly and haughtily that they wil'd for the French againe. Those of Calatagirona, tooke armes against them, and Alainius Leon-tinus chiefe Justice wrote to Charles, that if he sent him but ten Gallies, he would restore Sicily unto him: but he would not trust them, who were dishonoured with so notorious a treachery.

Charles

Charles seeing Fortune with one so violent a kick of her foot had thrown down all his designs, sought pretence of reason, and finding no cause of anger, or quarrell more just than the invasion of a Kingdome, besought the Pope to admit he might combat with Peter of Arragon in single Duell, to determine by the death of one, a difference, which might be the death of many. The Pope seeing Peter of Arragon would not submit to reason, left him to the hazard of arms. Charles sent him the lye and defiance. Peter refus'd not to measure his sword with Charles. They agree to take Bourdeaux for the place of Combat, and the King of England for Judge, an hundred Cap-taines of either part for specta-tors, and Sicily for Trophey of victory. Charles testifid his courage by shewing himself twice in the field, and Peter his prudence by accepting the combat

He who will not be angry for the losse of a Crown, will not be trou-bled at a ny thing.

Simon Le-oninus a Domini-can Friar carried the letter of challenge.

The King of Eng-land at that time held Guyen.

The Combat appointed in the moneth of May in tho yeare 1283. Charles retireth out of the field upon notice, that Peter was so far off he could not come the next day, yet arrived the same day, and put his army, and launce into the hands of the English Marshall.

bat to withdraw his enemy, who in Sicily drew neare unto him. He came to Tours, but it was after he knew Charles was departed, leaving registered with the Marshall of England, that he had expected his enemy from morning untill night.

He complaineth to the Pope, that Peter of Arragon put a scorne upon him that he will neither plead, nor restore. The Pope excommunicateth him as an usurper upon the rights of the Church, gives his Kingdome to Charles, proclaines open wars against him, and begins it with more reputation, than prosperity. Peter of Arragon surpriseth the Ile of Malta, and his Admirall the Gallies of Naples, with Charles Prince of Salerno the Kings son, whom he sends prisoner to Barcellon, drawes neare to Naples, terrifies, and amuseth mindes so much, that if Charles had not speedily hastned thither,

the

the gates had been opened to him. His presence gives confidence to honest men, and terror to the seditious, he caused a hundred and fifty of them to be hanged, and had he not considered that there is not any man so miserable who is not a member of the State, punishment had taken away a much greater number, which had he omitted, he should have made a new world through the difficulty of distinction between good subjects and rebels, and children from servants: for as those are not chastised by blows, so are the other so refractory they cannot be appeased with sweetnesse.

Fortune being now wholly turned against him, his army was discomfited before Rheggio, and he raising another to recover Sicily, the sorrow of his forepassed losses staid him, dissolved his designe, and ended his life.

Fortune exacted so rough interests

The defeat, and taking of Charles on the fifth of August 1284. It is written that he in his anger commanded to put fire amongst the Neapolitans, Gerrard of Parma the Popes Legate appeased him, and shewed that how much the more faults were great, so much the more clemency is commendable.

If I must needs fall (said Charles) I pray God it may be handsomly. He who is the cause of his own suffering may onely thanke himselfe.

In the same army died Pope Martin the fourth, Charles the first King of Naples, Peter of Arragon, Philip the Hardy. Charles the first King of Naples caused the head of Conradinus

interests from the contentments she had given him, that in these his last agonies, seeing the precipice inevitable, he sought nothing but to descend into it after his own manner without either being urged, or forced. He (as having wilfully concurred to his own unhappiness) endeavoured not to seek out elsewhere, than in himselfe, the causes of his suffering.

*It is impossible to live in the world without adversity, but it much importeth to understand for what cause we suffer, what the expectation is, and to what purpose we suffer; for if it be not innocently, patience is difficult, and comforts are superfluous.* Hedied at Foggia the seventh of Ianuary, 1284. Charles the second losing the King his father, lost of necessity part both with life and kingdome. The Queen Constanzia was counseled to let him dye under the hands of an executio-

ner

ner to revenge the death of her Nephew; so that upon this advice, late on a Friday, soon him wordshe must proprie hit selfe to the same punishment which his Father had inflicted on Conradinus. Hee answered, I am most ready to dye for the love of him, who upon the same day suffered for me. This gesture, and Christiansoul were untouched in the Queens heart, who replied: For the same respect he would dye, I will have him live. But to qualifie this inveterate choler, and violent thirst to revenge the death of Conradinus, she commanded the heads of two hundred gentlemen prisoners to be cut off.

At four years end he was freed from captivity, and left there three of his children, Lewis, Robert, and John, for hostages, and regaining with his liberty, one Kingdome (accounted as lost) he found another, which he expected

grandchild of the Emperor Fredericke to be cut off, on the 26. of October. 1269.

Cruelty is an inveterate anger.

Hungary was miserable under *Ladislaus*, and the Nobility enforced to till the ground. *Charles Martell*, sonne of *Charles 2.* King of Naples & *Mary*, daughter of *Stephen King of Hungary*. All ambition is insatiable, for it begins where it should end.

An attempt upon the King of Hungary at Visz-

*eted not.* The Hungarians having put *Ladislaus* their King to death for his libidinous life, and cruelties, *Charles Martell* was crowned King of Hungary, as sonne of *Mary*, sister of *Ladislaus*.

But because the sweetest contentments are steeped in the roughest acerbities, and for that strange accidents succeed unexpected events, a Neopolitan Gentleman named *Felix*, the only Privado in the secrets, and favours of *Charles*, undertooke, not, to share with him, Sovereign authority, which is not divisible; but to bereave him both of Crowne, and life to possesse it himself wholly; so hard a thing it is for a great fortune to containe it self within the limits of reason, and to find contentment in ambition. Pressed on by this fury, he assaileth the King on an Easter day, sets his sword to his throat, and wounds him in

the

the arme; his courageous wife, daughter of the Emperour *Rodolphus*, diverting the blow, had four of her fingers cut, his children were saved, for the conspiracy was to raise a new house. This miserable creature is punished with his complices, children, and allies, in the destruction of so execrable an impietie. There cannot too many tortures, nor tormentors be mustered up together to punish these horrible assassines: It is fit the punishment be such, that in ruining the culpable by strokes, it may humble the rest by astonishment.

After the death of *Alfonsus King of Arragon James* and *Frederick* his brothers sought peace with the Church by the mediation of *Charles King of Naples*, offering the confirmation of former treaties. They could not make choyce of a more powerfull intercession, for all the Coun-

P

cels

grad on Easter day. *Clementia Queen of Hungary* daughter of the Emperour *Rodolphus* the first, and mother of *Clementia* married to *Lewis Hun-  
tin*.

Rigor of punishment in ruining the wicked should terrifie others.

Martin  
the fourth  
excommu-  
nicateth  
Peter of  
Arragon,  
and gives  
his King-  
dome to  
Charles of  
Valois.

It is much  
more easie  
to treat  
with a sim-  
ple and ig-  
norant  
man, than  
a wise, and  
wary.

Election  
of Celeste-  
ne in a con-  
clave at  
Peruge, in  
the yeare.

1294.  
He accep-  
teth it by  
the solici-  
tation of  
Charles  
King of  
Naples.

cells of *Charles* were much esteemeed at Rome, and his advites honoured : yea, even in the election of Popes. Hee laboured their absolution, and proposed it to Pope *Calestino* the fifth, who hearing speech of absolving an enemy of the Church, refuled it as a great scandall, because indeed it was a long time since this thunder stroke fel upon the house of Arragon. He so much feared to erre, that he acted nothing but in feare, which proceeded from his disproportion to affaires : For the truth is, the most feasible, and facile, ever present themselves as rough and obscure to such as understand them not.

It was the blessed man *Petrus Morenus*, whom *Charles* had drawnen from the Cell, to replenish the vacant See; the Cardinals having beeene two yeares unable to fall upon an accord in the election. But hee better understood himselfe, than they who had chosen him : For be-

ing much troubled with the care of his owne soule, and unwilling to undergo the charge of others, he tooke his profession into consideration, weighed his owne duty, and represented the justice of his Master, who being offended, is not more sharply displeased with any, than him to whom he committeth the manage of his affaires, and of whom he requires a most strict accompt. For which cause he pulled off the Myter, & threw him selfe into his H rinitage. Hee had beeene haled from the port into the storme, and now returnes out of the tempest, into the haven. *He who cannot live in the day-light, must abide in the shadow.* *Charles* caused him to come to Naples, to divert him from this retirement, but could not : For Cardinall *Cajetan*, of a more unresistable and prevailing spirit, making him beleive he incurred the hazard of his owne fal-

God re-  
quires the  
greatest  
account of  
him, to  
whom he  
gives the  
greatest  
charge.

This ex-  
ample is  
angle.  
There is  
none but  
such as  
oken that  
which do  
not  
think af-  
ter.

Cardinall Benedict of Anagnia deceived Pope Celestine, and put himselfe into his place at Naples, and fearing he would reassume it againe, deprived him of life in prison.

Princes leave, but it is ever with a purpose to have againe.

salvation, to entertaine a charge any longer, whereof hee found himself uncapable, thrust himself into his place, possessed the See a whole yeare at Naples, where during his abode, Charles accomplished his negotiation of restoring James and Fredericke into the communion of the Church; Pope Boniface the eighth consented unto it, so they would wholly, and without hope of regaining, forsake Sicily. They thereunto accorded, upon promise made by Charles, that hee should procure the Count of Valois to renounce the right he had to the Kingdome of Arragon. The fruit of this treaty was the restitution of Sicily, the returne of three Princes left Hostages, and the marriage of Blanch Princesse of Naples, to James King of Arragon. King Charles conducted his daughter to Barcellon, there to behold her husband, and to take his three sonnes away

way with him; but of three hee had but two; for the eldest being of the age of one and twenty forsooke both the World and Court, and in the midle o' the universall joy for peace, & solennities of marriage, tooke the habit of Saint Francis, in the presence of the King of Naples his Father, the King of Arragon his Father in Law, Queenes and Princesses. It was impossible to divert him from this resolution, and that he might not be charmed by the Syrens of Court, he affixed himselfe to the Standard of the Crosse. Every one was much amazed at this alteration, for he was the eldest of his brothers, the Crowne of Naples infallibly belonged to him, they would have matried him to the Prince of Majorica, he left Roses to make a conserve of Thornes, Delights for Austerity, and the Court for a Cloyster. He raised his heart to God upon two wings, Simplicity, and

Prince Lewis taketh the habit of Saint Francis at Barcellon.

Seneca saith that voyce must be avoyded, which yf he would not heare, but whilst he was fast ned to the mast of a ship.

After the  
yeare of  
probation,  
he presented himself  
to the  
Convent  
o Mem-  
pelier,  
who refu-  
sed him,  
lest they  
might  
offend the  
King his  
father.

Treaties  
drawn on  
by nec-  
cessity last  
not long.

Repent-  
tance waiteth  
on headlong  
counsels.

Purity ; the one is in the intention, the other in affection, simplicity seeketh for God, purity findeth him. In this habit, he on the feast of all Saints made a Sermon, shewing all prosperities of the world were but trifles, and counterfeit gems, compared with eternall felicity. He dyed at the age of fourte and twenty, on his birthday, being the nineteenth of August, in the yeare 1293. and was canonized by Pope John the two and twentieth, in the yeare 1316.

This peace which had cost much bloud, money, and time, lasted but a little while; For seeing, that, which is done by force continueth no longer, but during the space we cannot resist necessity, Frederick thirsting after Sicily, which he had left, began the warre afresh upon the first occasion, but shame and losse (undoubted fruits of rash counsels) recompenced the

breach

breach of the treaty with punishment.

The King of Arragon is summoned to joyne his forces with Charles, to constraine his brother to observe it. Fredericke lost twenty five gallies, sixe thousand men, and had ther e left his liberty, if the Catalonians had not afforded him passage for his safety, thinking they were more obliged to the bloud of one of their Princes, than to the succour of the King of Naples. It is no act of providence to employ those against an enemy, who are of the same Nation : for in times of necessity they set upon him, whom they should defend.

Fredericke haughty and yong, whose courage could never despaire of victory, nor ever feare death, unwilling to retire upon his discomfiture, prepareth a fresh Army, and returns into Sicily. Charles the second lent Robert his sonne Duke of Calabria,

The King  
of Arra-  
gon sum-  
moned to  
constraine  
his bro-  
ther to  
observe  
the treaty.  
Auxilia-  
ries soon  
revolt.

It is a great advantage to fight with an enemy, whom hee hath once before vanquished. That is it, which *Scipio* said to the Romans on the day of battell against *Annibal*. *Philip* Prince of Tarentum, prisoner at Panormo in the yeare 1299.

Calabria, to encounter with him on the Frontiers. He transported with an overweening opinion of victory, which easily deceiveth young Souldiers, imagined that going about to fight with those whom his father had vanquished, he had not to doe with enemies, but with the relicts of their defecature. He enters into Sicily, encourageth his troops to march, fight, and vanquish, but is overthrowne, *Philip* Prince of Tarentum his brother taken prisoner, and Calabria lost.

*Robert* gathering the rest of his forces together, beleaguers Drepany, and in this siege it was, where God offended with this house, began to give way to the ruine of it, by meanes which testifie the most feeble Instruments are in his hands, powerfull Engines to demolish the greatest States.

*Violante* Duchesse of Calabria was in the field to beare her husband

band company, and to give example to the Souldiers by her constancy and courage, suffering even in the time of her being with childe, the sollicitudes and toyles of a siege. She was there delivered of her second sonne named *Lewis*, and the immutable decree of humane accidents, which depend on a superiour Law, would needs have it for the much greater unhappinesse of this flourishing Kingdome, that there could not be found any woman fit to breed this Prince, but a creature so despicable, as that she got her living by being a Laundresse, and her husband daily stood upon the promontory of a rock, to catch fish with an angling rod.

She was young, her countenance sweet, which made all the rest amiable, her proportion strong and vigorous, and stature little inferiour to a tall stripling. Besides, poverty adde3 some fa-

So *Azripina* accompanied *Germanius* into Almigne, and in occasions encouraged Souldiers by her valour.

Fishing is an abject condition, the Grecians call it a miserable wandering in the sea.

The less delicate nourishment is, the more vigorous is the nourishment.

## Second Historie.

For being  
neere the  
proud  
*Typhus*.  
*Catani*  
hath the  
sulphur,  
and drinks  
the smoke  
of it. star.

A poore  
man sud-  
denly en-  
riched,  
hath much  
adoe to  
governe  
himselfe  
in riches.

vour to her election; for it is thought, her manner of living free from excesse and curiosity, rendred her complexion much stronger, and her conscience the more simple. Having derived no name from the place of her birth, she took that of *Catani*, her country, and was called *Philippa the Catanian*; and as this City is unhappily situated neare Mount *Etna*, which vomiteth fire and sulphur upon its neighbors, so her greatest infelicity was to have approached this fire of favour, which in the end turned her into ashes. Eu: so soon as she had drunk in the enchanted cup of the Court, her primitive innocence degenerated into an ardent thirst of greatness, in such sort, that in stead of suffering the incommodities of want in the abject condition of her state, she knew not how to beare affluence of happiness in this her first fortune: For it is not so hard am-

## Vnhappie Prosperitie.

ter for therich to endure poverty,  
as for the penurions to accord  
with riches.

The siege of Drepany having continued some time, the besieged were succoured by *Fredericke*, and *Robert* constrained to returne to Naples, with a smaller company, and much lesse contertment than he marched forth withall, whereat King *Charles* his father became greatly displeased, and sad: and seeing injuries are weighed according to the quality of the persons, who either do, or receive them, it was a very distastfull thing with *Charles*, to see that a King of Arragon had put such harsh affronts upon the Kings of Niples; boasting to have furnished out the triumphs both of their Crowns, and Princes. And althoough the warre was between King and King, hee notwithstanding thought a King of Arragon could not enter into comparison with him,

The King  
of Arragon  
took Sicily  
from  
King  
*Charles* the  
first, had  
his sonne,  
and his  
grand-  
chilld the  
Prince of  
Tarentum

## Second Historie.

The Aragonians chose Peter Tamez for their King, and took the Cowne from him to give it to Ramirez. Ramirez bastard of Sanchez, King of Castile, began to reigne in the yeare 1017.

him, either as King of Naples, or as issued from an house, which had not begun to reign like his; for the Crown had stood fully nine hundred yeares on the heads of his Ancestors, and the Arragonians had not known above three hundred yeares, what a royall Scepter meant.

The Monarchy of France was founded upon the ruines of an Empire, which swayed the whole world, and amongst the Gaules, the most warlike province of Europe (a people so daring, as to advance their Standards on the highest top of the Capitoll.) The Arragonians made a Kingdome of a Country, choosing a Monke for Founder, whom they took out of a Cloyster, that they might have a King extracted from the Gothish race.

He was so simple and dolish, that mounting on horse-back to wage warre against the Moores, and they putting a lance into one hand,

## Unhappie Prosperitie.

hand, and a target into the other, he took the bridle between his teeth. He quickly shook off his fottishnesse: For employments make men: So that putting on the Majestie of a King, he caused the heads of eleven of his greatest to be cut off, who mocked at him, and for a satisfactory reason, onely said this, *Foxes know not with whom they dally.*

King Charles to exact an account for these last bravadoes, in the 1311. yeare raised a great army, and intreated his Cousin Charles, Count of Valois, whom King Philip le Bel sent into Tuscany for aid of the Florentines, to lend him his troops to chase Fredericke out of Sicily. The forces being joyned and nothing wanting among them but discipline, they entred into Calabria, and there exercised violences so exorbitant, that Violante Dutches of Calabria, sister of Fredericke abhorred it, and having shewed

After hee  
had reigned  
some  
time, he re-  
tired into  
his Mona-  
stery, and  
recom-  
mended  
his daugh-  
ter to Al-  
phonsus the  
seventh,  
King of  
Castile.  
Discipline  
is hard in  
armies of  
divers  
Nations.  
Wise Prin-  
ces ap-  
pease en-  
mities a-  
mong  
houses  
from  
whence  
they  
sprang, &  
those  
whereinto  
they are  
married.

Peace betwene the King of Naples, & Fredericke of Arragon in the year 1302

shewed her courage in waging warre, made her wisedome appeare in treaty of peace, persuading Frederick to require it, and not to expect, till he were in a condition not to obtain it. Frederick gave care to her, and the doubt of the future evill being worse than the paine of the present, disposed him to peace, and conjured his sister to mediate.

She had the honour both to propose, and conclude it. Sicily rested in Frederick for his life onely, without any other title, than King of Trinacia, leaving all he held elsewhere, and to confirme amity, he married Leonora the daughter of Charles the second

But as there is no charme more powerfull to gaine the good opinion of the people, than to afford them peace, and oppose any thing which may disturb their repose; Violante was honoured by all as the foundresse and raiser of this Temple of peace. It was proclaimed every where, Long

live Violante, no other title contented their thoughts, than Violante, and it was much more truely said of her name than of the Emperours, that it grew amongst roses, and violets. This publicke well-wishing spread it selfe over all, whatsoever had relation to Violante: but the best part was for the Catanian, who alone possessed her soule, nor could any other deserve her favours: which she cherished, not onely by the care of the education of the young Prince, but with great vigilance, ardent assiduity, lively affection, and a judicious complacence practised in the Mothers service, in such sort that she alone was the oracle of her will. But death which searcheth into all the corners of the earth, and from which no one Country is more distant than another, tooke away the Dutchess Violante, even in the sweetnesse of this good work of peace.

This

Martial said the name of the Emperour Domitian sprang amongst Roses, and Violets.

Favours of great ones are merited by assiduity, affection, and fidelity.

In all parts of the world man is in equall distance from death.

Affection  
borne to  
the dead,  
appeared  
in the re-  
membrance  
of what  
they re-  
commended.

To pray,  
that is to  
speak to  
God, and  
to under-  
stand his  
word is to  
heare him  
speak.

Examples  
doe not  
rectifie  
depraved  
spirits.

This death undermining the fortune of the Catanian astonished her, but it was but for a little while. For *Robert* remarrying with *Sancha* daughter of the King of Majorica well remembred *Violante* had recommended her to him, and offered her as a present, she loved her no lesse than her Cousin *Violante* had done, and this woman observing her Mistresse, did wholly additt her selfe to devotion, and tooke nor delight in any thing but to speake with God by prayer, or to heare God speaking to her in the reading of pious booke, played the hypocrite, and scrupulous holy one, onely to please her. Much adoe had she to straine for it, *For devotion is so cleere and impolluted, you cannot confound it: sooner will water commix with oyle, than Piety with Hypocrisie.* I wonder how sh: grew so wicked among so many examples of piety and vertue: but she came to

to the Court, not to settle her conscience, but to raile a fortune. *Sancka Duchesse of Calabria* who loved her, because she had the breeding of the yong Prince, being most affectionate, and vigilant for her good, let no faire occasion slip in her advancement.

Her Husband dyed, and shee was instantly courted. For who ever should marry her, was sure to sleep betweene the armes of Fortune, so supereminent was her power in Court. This serpent, which during the winter of her wretchednesse lay stark, and benummed with cold, no sooner felt the heat of the Sunne of favour, but she stirred and high reared her crest.

*Charles had set out an edict against the Saracens that resided in Sicily, and who 70. yeares together possessed Luceria, giving leave to the Christians to kill them, if they abjured not the Alchoran.*

Affection  
produceth  
affection.

Sudden  
favour  
makes spi-  
rits revive  
and flou-  
rish again,  
which see-  
med deje-  
eted, and  
faint.

The Sar-  
zens for a  
long time  
held Sici-  
ly, Frede-  
rick the 2  
gave them  
the City  
of Luceria

Some

Forced  
conver-  
sions make  
Atheists.

Boccace  
saith he  
bought it  
not.

A heart  
which is  
disposed to  
do well is  
quickly  
seen in its  
courage.

Some forsooke the Country, others were baptized, and there were scene many to be new Christians in appearance, and inveterate Sarazens in their consciences; for it was impossible to root this pestilent seed out of their hearts, and those who returned to their old vomit, were called Marrans. Never was good Moore a good Christian. In the general expulsion of this scummy people, *Raimond* of Cabanes, Master of the Kings household tooke to him a young Sarazen, and noting in him much affection toward his service, and withall a dextrous and ready wit, gave him his owne name in baptisme, the knowledge of his friends in Court, and lastly his proper charge. But as there is no: any meane in the Courts of Princes, and since the skendrest fortunes require a whole man; he so well managed his, that of little he made much, and became so acceptable

ceptable to *Charles* the second, and to Duke *Robert*, his sonne that he created him master of his Wardrobe. Time cooperateth with his industry, and fortune futes to his vigilance: Labours, which are punishments to the sluggish, and delights to the diligent, trouble not him at all. He acquired great wealth which he exposed, neither to Ostentation nor Envy. Gratuities fell into his purse without noise, & by waies unperceiveable, and although there is not any condition in Court free from taxations, nor wisedome so absolute, and judicious, as to make it selfe a Master over accidents, yet methe with none, who might reproach him to have used therein either indiscretion, or imprudence. He brought not his wax wings of conferred favours so neare to the Sunne, nor at first flight soars up to heaven by strength of wing, he abides within the knowledge of

There is  
no fortune  
so meane,  
which re-  
quireth,  
not all the  
industry of  
a man.

He who  
doth any  
thing wil-  
lingly, his  
travell  
costeth  
him no-  
thing.  
The wise  
man ex-  
poseth not  
his fortune  
to envy.

There is  
no provi-  
dence so  
certaine  
that it can  
assure  
things  
future.

Fortune  
many  
times pol-  
scleth the  
place of  
merit.

It is hard  
to joyne  
modesty  
and felici-  
ty together

of what he is, and what he hath  
beene, is contented with what  
befals him, and not scorning any  
man despiseth himselfe, and pri-  
feteth those who disfesteeme him.

He shewes humility towards  
the great, Courtesie to others,  
never enters into competition  
with any who may hurt him, ne-  
ver embroyles himselfe with  
partialities, nor accounts his for-  
tune by desert, he repaires all  
manner of defects by his mode-  
sty: for the truth is modesty no-  
rancie is much more tolerable,  
than proud ability.

Modesty alone is the assured  
guide of prosperity, from whence a  
man never wanders, who loseth  
not himselfe. It is an especiall fa-  
vour from heaven, when they for  
some good space walke both toge-  
ther, It is the first piece which is  
wanting in the equipage of those,  
who suddenly rise to great For-  
tunes. Prosperity causeth pride,  
Pride Insolence, Insolence Folly,  
and

and Folly head-long ruine. There  
are not any but such as get riches  
with innocency, who posseſſe them  
with modesty. The Duchesse of  
Calabria thought the fortune of  
the Morisco was the Cataniſes  
reall act, wherefore she resolved  
to marry them together, Ray-  
mond Cabanes might hit upon a  
better, but he was nothing nice,  
protesting that were he honou-  
red with this favour he would  
compare with those, who had  
married Goddesses.

To make this alliance the more  
noble, and to cover the shame of  
both their births, this good Lady  
gave the Duke of Calabria her  
husband to understand; and he  
the King his father, that they  
wanted nought but honour, and  
that their great possesſſions wel de-  
served to afford them distinction  
from the multitude. The Catani-  
an willing enough to oblige her  
husband to acknowledge her, as  
the sole caufe of Nobility, labou-  
reth

Peleus, and  
Anchises  
enjoyed  
(as saith  
Plutarch)  
wedlocke  
with  
Goddesses

Great  
wealth  
shewes ill  
without  
honours.

Nature,  
Folly, and  
Fortune  
give some-  
times the  
ambition  
of a Prince  
to the cou-  
rage of a  
groome.

Consci-  
ence is ac-  
commo-  
dated to  
time and  
favour.

reth hard to get him a title. As she was impotunate in begging be-  
nefits, so she became impudent in the pursuit of honours; and ne-  
ver gave over till *Sanche* made  
him a Knight, before hee was a  
Gentleman. All the Court mur-  
mured against the King, as too  
liberal of the ensignes of honour,  
whereof a wise Prince is so spa-  
ring, that he never makes use of  
them, but to recompence merit,  
and great services: Every one  
complained of Nature, which  
gave the high soaring affections  
of a Prince to abject soules, and  
put noble thoughts into hearts  
inferior.

The King granted him the or-  
der of Knighthood, and he recei-  
ved it according to the forme of  
the institution thereof, made by  
*Charles* his Father. Information  
being given of his military at-  
chievements, and dexterity in  
arms, upon the witness of those  
who bent their consciences to  
favour,

favour, giving assurance of that  
which was not, nor ever had  
beene. (For the truth is *Ray-  
mond* never handled I'on, but in  
a kitchin, or at the Oare among  
gally-slaves) there was a day ap-  
pointed for the Ceremony in the  
great Church.

The King seated on his royll  
Throne, under him the King of  
Hungary his sonne, who with  
a great traine came to see him,  
Queene *Mary* his wife, the Du-  
chesse of Calabria his daughter,  
Princes and Princesses, his chil-  
dren. *Raymond* presenteth him-  
selfe, the Archbishop of Barri  
made a discouerse upon the no-  
blenesse of the act, then gave an  
oath to bind him, not to ride up-  
on an Ass, or Mule like the  
Knights of the Scarfe, but to serve  
the King, defend Ladies wron-  
ged in their honour, and to enter  
into the lists of Combat for  
them, if hee were intrea-  
ted.

The histo-  
ry of Pro-  
vence saith  
the Knight  
was caused  
to sit on a  
chaire of  
silver, cov-  
ered with  
greene  
velvet.

*Alphonsus*  
intituled  
the order  
of the  
scarfe and  
bund.

After

The sword  
put on by  
Virgins,  
bound  
him not to  
use it in a-  
ny wicked  
act.

**Knight-hood was established recompence worth, and virtue.**

After the oath given, two ancient Knights presented him at the feet of the King, who striking him on the head or shoulder with his sword, solemnly pronounced these solemn words, God make thee a good Knight.

Seven well attired Damsels girted him with a sword, and four Knights put on his spurres. The Queene & Duchesse of Calabria led him into his ranke, and the Knights embrased him ; but discontentedly, because hee had obtained without merit, or service, through favour and intercession, the honours which were only ordained for singular, and excellent rewards of vertue. It is the onely advantage, which worth yeelds to one man above another, if it be not seldome, it is contemptible.

Musique, Bals, Tournements  
concluē the feast, and the next  
is the wedding. *Raymond* ~~and~~  
*Rieth*

rieth the Catanian, and with her,  
Insolence, Ingratitude, & Pride.  
In the Kitchin his thoughts trans-  
ported him to armes, now when  
he is in the midst of them, hee  
aspires to an higher pitch, and  
his desires extend much farther  
than his hopes.

This extraordinary greatness takes his very countenance away from him, he is altogether astonished at it, as a Kite on the fist, or a Monkey in scarlet. Dignities and new riches breed something softish in the minds of those, who are accustomed to possess, and enjoy them for a long time. His first modesty brake company with prosperity ; Pride makes him glitter every where, his Ryoc throwes him into all superstieties and profusions, wherein it may be shewed, and he stands perplexed and cumbred in great riches, as with garments too long and heavy.

*Charles* in the meane time  
Q fought

Desire  
which a-  
spireth be-  
yond  
things to  
be desired,  
is no de-  
sire, but a  
disease.

**So Copreks  
hath greek  
attire, and  
barbarous  
hands.**

**Excessive riches are garments too long and troublesome.**

Bertrand  
Arch-Bis-  
shop of  
Bourdeaux  
chosfen  
Pope.

John Duke  
of Bre-  
taign slain  
by the fall  
of a wall  
at Lyons  
1305.

The holy  
See trans-  
ferred fro  
Rome to  
Avignon,  
in the

year 1307.  
The abo-  
lishing of  
the Tem-  
plars in  
the Coun-  
cell of Vi-  
enne, in  
the yeare  
1309.

Taking of  
Rhodes  
by the  
knights of

sought the peace of the Church, which at that time was much turmoyled, and felt strange revolutions. Bonifice the eighth died a prisoner, Benedict the eleventh of the order of Saint Dominicks, succeeded him for eight moneths, and seventeene dayes; and Clement the fifth chosen after him, came to Philip le Bel, and Charles Count of Valois. His coronation was performed with great solemnity, but much disturbed by the death of the Duke of Britaine, slaine by the ruine of a wall. The Pope from thence went to Avignon, and there established his See, setting the Crowne of Sicily upon the head of Robert Duke of Calabria.

Charles began in Provence the terrible persecution against the Templars, and being at Malleilles in the yeare 1307, commanded the imprisonment of many of them, and seizure of

their

their goods, and his will was executed with such order and diligence, that on one and the same day, being the feoure and twentieth of January, by one same signall given, they were all cast into prison, and few dayes after executed. Their goods were given to the Knights of the order of Saint John of Ierusalem, who at that time possessed themselves of Rhodes by a pretty stragem, causing certaine Souldiers to creepe into the City in sheepskins amongst a flock of sheepe, and the Captaines disguised like Shepheards. Charles dyed a while after, in the yeare 1309, three-score yeares of age. God blessed this Prince with a plentifull posterity, to afford him alliance with the best and chiefest houses of Christendome. The first, Charles Martell King of Hungary. Secondly, Lewis, a religious man of the Order of Saint Francis, and Bishop of Tho-

Q. 2

louse.

Saint John  
of Ierusa-  
lem, in the  
year 1309

Taking of  
Rhodes by  
the knights  
of Saint  
John of Je-  
rusalem, in  
the yeare  
1309.

Rbisip Prince of Tarentum married Catherine Empress of Constantynople, daughter to Philip son of Baldwin, Emperour of Constantynople, and Beatrice of Sicily, daughter of Charles the first King of Naples.

louse. Thirdly, *Robers Duke of Calabria*, who succeeded his Father. Fourthly, *Philip Prince of Tarentum*, Emperour of Greece. Fifthly, *John Prince of Achaia, or Morea*. Sixthly, *Raymond Berenguer Count of Andria*. Seventhly, *Tristram*, borne during the imprisonment of his Father. Eighthly, *Lewis of Duras*. Ninthly, *Peter surnamed Tempest, Count of Gravina*. The eldest daughter *Margarite*, married to *Charles Count of Valois*, and Mother of *Philip of Valois*: *Blanche* married to *James of Arragon*: *Elconor*, to *Fredericke King of Sicily*: *Mary* to *James King of Majorica*: *Beatrice*, to the Marquess of Este, afterward to *Bertrand Baux, Prince of Orenge*, and *Humbert Dauphin of Vienne*.

*Wits are purified in adversitie, and Princes who have exercised theirs in the calamities of fortune and necessity, have had better suc-*

successe than others on whom Crownes have fallen without labour, and Cities even sleeping. As *Charles the first* got not the Crown of Naples without pain, nor preserved it without perill, his reputation being raised upon glorious actions of his vertue, and constancy: So *Charles the second* maintained not his, but by wrastling with Fortune, which to ruine him, cast him fourre yeares into the power of his enemies. Italy afforded him the glory of its repose, and to have preserved it from sinking under the desperate and furious factions of Gwelphes, and Gibelins. He lived so well that hee dyed willingly; There was not any Nation, which admired him not, nor shall any age faile to record him.

*Robert his third sonne succeeded him, by exclusion of the children of his eldest, Charles Martell King of Hungary. The*

*Q 3      questi-*

*Timothew*, a more fortunate thā able man, was paineted sleeping, and Cities which of themselves were taken in an heape.

That you may die contentedly, you must not deplore the actions of life.

The disputatio of the Vncles pre cedency before the Nephewes was trea- ted by Bal dus.

Lewis, the second son of Robert, dyed at nine years of age.

The death of an Infant is a fruit not fallen off, but pulled from the tree before the time. Henry of Luxembourgh the Emperour, offers his daughter to the son of the King of Sicily, in the yeare 1312.

question whether the Uncle should be preferred before the Nephew was disputed before the Pope at Avignon, who more considered the age, experience, and merit of Robert, than the right of those in minority. At his entrance into rule, death tooke Lewis his second son from him, whom the Cataneis had bred, whereat he conceived such sorrow, as we may of a fruit pulled off before maturity; so that seeing all the hope of his succession rested on the Duke of Calabria his only son, he desired in good time to see him a Father, and for that purpose sought out a wife for him. Henry the seventh offered him his daughter, but hee married one of thole, which the Emperour Albert left, and that no man may enter into this History, who confirmes not the example of the unhappinesse of prosperity, hee may obserue his for-

fortune to be remarkable.

Having gotten the Empire, not onely by right of election, but by armes (for he discomfited, and slue in battell Adolphus of Nassau, his Rival, ten yeares after, in the yeare 1308) he was slaine by his Cousin German neare the Citie of Bruch, and as it were in the sight of the Castle of Habsburg, the Cradle which bred the first Princes of the house of Austria. This yong Prince fell into despaire, because the Emperour who had many children to provide for, denied to restore him the Seignorie of Kiburg, which was his mothers. A Prince young and needy, is apt to enter into ill counsels, against him who with-holds that, which would suffice to preserve him from necessity.

He died in the time of his purpose, to chastise rigorously the three Townes of the Switzers, which revolted against those

Battell of Wormbs, where Adolphus of Nassau was slaine, the eight and twentieth of June, 1308.

Necessity is witty in ill counsels.

Three little Cantons revolted against their Governors, in the year 1308.

The first league of three Cantons of the Switzers, was made at Brilan the seventh of Decem. 1325.

Albert had two and twenty children by his wife Elizabeth of Carinthia.

who governed them, as subjects of the Empire. Three Pealnts, who had no other use of iron, but to prick forward their Oxen, and cleave wood, employed it to raise a warlike Commonwealth, which hath an hand in all the warres of Christendome, drawes money from the most powerfull Christian Princes, and hath fought nine battels to secure their liberty. He left two and twenty children by Elizabeth of Carinthia, and although he had great possessions in Austria, Bohemia, Alsacia, Svevia, and Switzerland, there was not enough to afford a Principality to each one, yet they were all well provided for, & the daughters required in marriage by the best Families of Christendome. Robert preferred this alliance before, that of the Emperour Henry the seventh, and gave to his sonne Charles Duke of Calabria, Katharine Princess of Austria.

This

This Prelation offended the Emperour, and began their enmity, which was exasperated by the aid Robert gave to the Gwelphes, and Florentines. The Emperour vexed hereat, published a Ban, declared him a Rebell against the holy Empire, condemnes him to lose his head, and the Crown of Naples. The condemned onely appeals to his Sword, made his judgement be revoked, pursued the Emperour, who retired into Piemont, and pressed him so hard, that he repented to have incensed a brave and masculine courage, which accounted not the suffering of injuries laudable, nor the forgetfulness of them profitable. The Florentines afterwards, to free themselves from such an enemy, who never appeared amongst them, but for their ruine, caused him to be poysoned at Bonconvent, the fifteenth of August 1312.

Q5

Death

Robert succoureth the Florentines against the Emperour.

Henry of Luxen-

bourg the Emperour,

condemneth Ro-

bert King of Naples to lose his head, 1318

Never in-

jure him,

who can take re-

venge.

Henry the seventh was poysoned at Boncon-

vent in an Hoast,

others say, he was hurt with a fall from an horse.

## Second Historie.

She is not  
chaste e-  
nough, who by  
the least  
suspition  
make her  
chastity to  
be doubted.

Death dissolved the marriage of the Duke of Calabria with Katharina of Austria, and shee dyed without children. Robert, who had but onely this sonne, presently sought out another wife for him, entreating King Philip the faire, he would be pleased the house of Valois might restore to the Crown of Naples, what it had thence borrowed. Charles the second his father, had married Margarite his daughter to Charles Count of Valois, and Robert desired Grafts for his Sonne of this royll Stock, which had never beeene tainted with the least suspition of impurity. It is laid of this Lady, that the Embassadors of France having required her for the Kings brother, betonght her they might see, whether she were touched with her fathers naturall imperfections, who was crooked, she uncloathed her selfe even to her smock, made of so fine Holland, that

## Vnbappie Prosperitie.

that one might easily behold her shape, and withall replying, that Never would she for a Crowne make any scruple to pull it off.

King Robert desirous to see his sonne, the Duke of Calabria, fully accomplished in all vertues, gave him for Tutor the Count of Elzear a kinsman of the Earls of Provence, every where renowned for admirable purity of life.

Kings that neglect the education of those who are to succeed them, little regard their owne states, the safety wherof depends on the good education of the Prince: Warres are not the cause of so many miseries, as ill managed education. For such calamities are but temporary, but disorder lasteth, whilst the scepter swayeth. By the fruits of Justice, and piety which it is tree bare, it may be understood it was well manured.

The intended marriage being resolved

In the  
choyce of  
Princesses  
to be  
wives for  
Kings, the  
stature  
and grace  
of body  
was consi-  
dered.  
Saint Elze-  
ar Earle  
of Arrian  
of the  
house of  
Sabran,  
Good go-  
vernment  
cannot be  
expected  
from a  
Prince ill-  
bred.

It is a  
great try-  
alt of cou-  
rage to  
abstaine  
from that,  
which is  
both desi-  
red, and  
permitted.

Charles  
Duke of  
Calabria  
marrieth  
*Mary*  
daughter  
of *Charles*  
Count of  
Valois,  
1324.

Length of  
service  
gaineth  
trust for  
servants.

resolved on, he sent his Gover-  
nour to Paris to negotiate it. He  
could not make choice of a more  
unspotted Oratour, as one who  
had lived three and twenty years  
with *Delphina* his wife in volun-  
tary and secret chasteitie, preser-  
ving devotion amidst the vani-  
ties of Court, Humility in great-  
nesse, naturall frailty among  
pleasures, and single life in mar-  
riage. Scoffers will make sport  
hereat for the danger there is in  
placing powder neare unto fire.  
But the actions of Saints should  
be considered, not with discourse  
of nature, but effects of grace.

The Marriage of the Lady  
*Mary* was the raising of the Ca-  
tanians fortune, whom King Ro-  
bert gave to his daughter in law,  
as a woman, that had seene the  
birth and education of all the  
children of the royll family; she  
having served Queen *Mary*  
daughter of the King of Hunga-  
ry, the Duchesses *Fiolante*, San-  
cha,

*cha*, Katherine: she was an aged  
Oke, a worne Medaile, only ho-  
noured for her antiquity, every  
one made addresse to her, as to  
the register of household govern-  
ment.

She was beloved by this La-  
dy, more than by all the rest, and  
being an understanding woman,  
presently perceived the delights,  
and inclinations of her Mistresse  
propended to pretie conceits,  
neat curiosities, and quaint orna-  
ments. There was not any thing  
either rare, or excellent thorow  
all Europe, which she sought not  
out to please her, that one would  
have thought, whole Provinces  
stood affected to her accommo-  
dation.

*Robert* had other content-  
ments, which neerly followed  
the marriage of his sonne with  
*Mary* of Valois; the City of Ge-  
nova rendred it selfe up to him,  
and he had possession of it full  
eighteen years: The Church  
gave

The  
Queenes  
of Persia  
had pro-  
vinces na-  
med from  
their dres-  
sings, one  
was ter-  
med the  
Queenes  
girdle,  
another  
her Head-  
tire.

*Robert* is made Vicar for the Church at Ferrara. It is a rule in nature, that the best command.

*Katherine* of Austria died on the 15. of Ian. 1323. and *Mary* of Hungary on the 25. of March 1323.

gave him the guardianship and government of Ferrara; Florence resented it. It is a thing very naturall for people to submit themselves voluntarily under the rule of good and wise Princes.

The first yeare of the marriage of his sonne brought forth a daughter whom he named *Jane*, and he appointed the Catanian to be her governesse; and made *Raymond Cabanes* her husband super-intendent of his houshold. To preserve the good intelligence he held with the Pope, he often visited him at Avignon, and was there, whilst in lesse than two moneths he received newes of the death of his daughter in law *Katherine* of Austria, and his Mother *Mary* of Hungary. To understand the like grieve, one must have such a daughter, and such a Mother. He there also saw the death of one of his dearest friends *Amede* the fourth, D. of Savoy. Pope *Benedict* the twelfth dyed

dyed a while after leaving the continuation of the sumptuous palace of Avignon imperfect. Flesh and bloud had not any power over him. Some Courtiers brought his father before him cloathed otherwise than beseeched his condition, he would not acknowledge him untill he had reasumed the habit of a Millet, nor give him any thing but wherewithall to buy a Mill. He often said Popes should neither have kindred nor allies, and that they were not administrators of Church-livings to enrich their owne kindred.

The great reverence he bare to the Pope was a notable prooef of his wisedome, for he well knew, whilst the Kings his predecessors held good correspondence with the Popes (having ever before their eyes the treaties, and capitulations betweene the See Apostolike, and their Crowne, the more exactly to observe

Pope *Benedict* would not enrich his parents with the goods of the Church.

A Prince should consider those treaties, which obligehim.

*Philip* King of Macedon caused the articles he agreed on with the Romans to be read unto him.

In the investiture of the Kings of Naples, it is said they will not accept the election of the Emperor Charles Duke of Calabria, as head of the Florentine Commonwealth, nor their army with 200000. ducquets rent by the yeare.

observe them) the peace of their state had been invincible, nor had the Princes of the house of Swavia, who banded against them, derived any other profit, than losse both of the Empire of Almaine, and Kingdome of Naples. Never should we quarrel with those, who may more endanger, than profit us.

To quiet the spirit of the Pope he promised him by oath never to accept the Imperiall Crown, nor title of King of Lombardy as Prince of Tuscany under the penalty of losing the rights of Sicily.

The Florentines notwithstanding so well liked his government, that they demanded his sonne, and chose him their Prince for ten yeares. Whilst they expected his comming, he sent them the Count Brennus his kinsman, and shortly after went thither with his wife, who was there delivered of a son, whom the

the Signory of Florence named *Charles Martell* in memory of the brother of King *Robert* of Hungary. But the joy of this birth lasted but eight dayes: For the childe died on the ninth. She had yet another daughter named *Mary*; the abode he made at Florence much availed the Cata-nian who grew dexterous by conversation with the subtil, and wary wits of Italy. He remained there about some three yeares, but hearing the Emperour *Lewis* of Bavare entred into Italy, and had a plot upon the territories of King *Robert* his father, he departed from Florence, and went to Naples, where he soon after deceased. His government was so just and temperate, that the Florentines never bewailed those that went before. Such care he had of Justice, and to have it exercised towards all his subjects, that (perceiving the difficulty of accessse of the poore

*Lewis* of Bavare entred into Italy, causeth himselfe to be crowned at Rome the 17. of Ian. 1328. depositeth *Iohn* the 22. who was at A-vignon, and putteth into his place a Cordelier, called *Peter Cor-bieres*. Death of *charles* Duke of Calabria in the year 1328. No justice but for them who have mo-ney.

King Roberte underooke the ruine of the Duke of Athens, because he began to alter and trouble the governement of the City.

Gaultier Duke of Athens Count of Brenne enterpri- seth upon the liberty of Flo- rence.

poore to him) he caused a bell to be hanged at the gate of his Palace, so that he who rung it was sure in that instant to be brought before the Prince, or to have some officer sent out to heare him.

The Florentines unable to agree in their government, had likewise recourse to King Robert, who assigned them the Duke of Athens, but he thought not long to continue him there, upon notice given, he had put the Signory out of the Palace where they usually assemble, so that he sent him word, if he could not content himself with his sonnes lodging, hee should not make any long abode in the City.

He gave up an unfortunate account of his fidelity, and reputation, in going about to make that power perpetuall, which was given him but limited, he feised on the forces of the City, and such

such as might hinder his plot. Those who conspired against the common wealth to raise him, had a new plot to ruine him, and seeing it was discovered, not willing to expect till punishment should be inflicted, took armes. The design which was but of some particulars, caused a generall insurrection against him, to enforce him to forsake the Fortress, and to put into the hands of the executioner those who had assisted him in his Tyranny, which lasted but nine moneths. It is the interest both of the particular, and publicke, that the wicked perish, and the good prosper.

Nothing could happen to King Robert, which more sharply afflicted him, than the death of his sonne; he incessantly said: *The Crowne is fallen from my head, woe be to me, woe be to you.* If sorrow had power enough to kill, it had thrown him into his grave, his courage made resistance,

He who is discovered casts himselfe into despaire.

It were ill with the common wealth if the wicked should alwaies prosper: King Roberte deplo- ring the death of his sonne spake these words, *Cecidit Corona ca- pitis mei:*

He sadly prunes the tree, from which no fruit can be expected.

O ridicu-  
lum vidisse  
ex ergastulo  
servili, ac  
nidore popi-  
na Æthio-  
pem Rober-  
to Regi re-  
gelia obse-  
quia exhibi-  
bentem.

stance, and although griefe had banished vivacity of Spirit from his heart, Constancy in an instant made it returne againe, but the evill was reiterated with it.

He found no comfort but in his little Inheritrix, the precious pledge of the Kingdoomes hope, who was in the hands of her governesse, omitting nothing in the sollicitous care of exact education, by manuring her as a plant, that was to perpetuate her house, but with this griefe, that he could not have the contentment to see the fruit shee should bring forth; To oblige her governesse to bee carefull in the service of this Princessse, he created her husband great Steward of Naples, and thereupon Boccace, who relateth this story, cryeth out aloud; What a mockery is it to see a Moore drawne from the milery of a gally-slave, and smoake of the Kitchin, to supply with

with King Robert the prime ser-  
vices of the Crowne, to take  
place of the greatest Lords, to be-  
come a President in the Court,  
and to administer justice to Su-  
itorre but what shall we say?  
Fortune raiseth whom she list.  
So inconstant is she, that shee  
suffered Marim to beg his bread  
at Carthage in his sixt Consul-  
ship, and created him chiefe ge-  
nerall in the seventh.

*The choyce a Prince makes of  
men, whom he advanceth to great  
imployments, is not subject to any  
mans censure: and were it bad,  
yet ought it to be approved, lest  
his judgement be questioned, and  
reputation wounded; but it is a  
hard matter to be silent therein:  
For honours weepe over those who  
have not deserved them, and the  
Images of Noble houses upbraid  
the slender merit of the new pur-  
chasers.*

Raymond Gabanes continued  
not long in this charge, for death  
freed

The liber-  
ty of a  
Prince in  
the choice  
of servants  
is a blo-  
lute.

The Ro-  
mans per-  
mitted not  
new pur-  
chasers of  
noble  
houses to  
change the  
Images, or  
furnitures,  
which up-  
braided  
their un-  
worthines.

Wise men  
make use  
of favour,  
and abuse,  
it not.

It is bet-  
ter to be-  
gin, than  
end an  
house,

freed him from the envy and ha-  
tred shee would have cast upon  
him, had hee lived any longer.  
King *Robert* witnessed in his  
death the account he made of his  
life, appointing funeral obsequies  
for him, as for a Prince of his  
owne bloud, and protesting hee  
had long time made use of his  
favour, but never abused it: It is  
true, Fortune raised his house,  
but vertue had a share in it, and  
prudence furnished out the Oe-  
conomy. It was as great a glory  
for him to have raised it, as it is  
a disgrace for others to ruine  
what they finde already framed.  
Some, through their owne er-  
rors, deface the images of their  
Ancestors, others transmit theirs  
over to posterity with admirati-  
on. Those, not having preserved  
what was given them are despi-  
cable, these having out of them-  
selves framed that, which they  
received not from any man, de-  
serve to be honoured. There is

a beginning in every thing: the  
greatest houses were heretofore  
but Cabarets, the Capitoll was  
at first covered with thatch:  
There are divers things very  
great, which would not to have  
beene, had they not beene little,  
& might the condition of mans  
extraction depend on his owne  
choyce, every one would bee  
borne great; there is not a crea-  
ture, but would be derived from  
a noble house.

*Ioane* was about foare yeares  
and an halfe old, when her Fa-  
ther dyed, and when she was in  
the beginning of the seventh,  
King *Robert*, who desired no-  
thing more than to establish her,  
declared her his heire, the Sub-  
jects of the Kingdome of Naples,  
and the Countie of Provence  
acknowledged her, did her ho-  
mage, and promised, if God dis-  
posed of *Mary* before she were  
a Mother, they would confesse  
her sister *Ioanne* for their Queen.

*Agarberles*  
King, of  
Sicily had  
a Porter  
to his fa-  
ther; *Ju-  
stinius*, a  
Shepherd;  
*Gratian*, a  
Ropema-  
ker.

*Ioane*, el-  
dest daugh-  
ter of the  
Duke of  
Calabria,  
is declared  
Heire of  
the Crown  
of Sicily,  
in the  
moneth of  
June, and  
year 1330

Ambition covereth it selfe with any thing it finds.

Loseth the best and most assu- red guid of her life.

Besides, Philip Prince of Taren-tum said, that he would have no other heire, if hee died without issue.

As power encreased for Ioane, favour augmented for her Go- vernesse, who had a hand in e- very thing, causing her ambition to passe under the specious pre-text of her Pupils service, and as if all had conspired to her great- ness, the Duchesse of Calabria, who alone held her desigues un- der controll, dyed shortly after this declaration. Had shee lived, shee never would have suffered her to extend the charge of the Princesses person, over the go- vernment of the State. The good education of Infancy was but as a dew, which is exhaled by the first fervours of youth.

She was a Princesse, whose life was truly innocent, as being endued with the humility of an Hand-maid towards God, the goodnessse of a Mother towards her

her Subjects, and the severity of a Judge towards her selfe. Her Mother Margarito Duchesse of Valois, and sister of King Robert, a Princesse incomparable for her chastity, first bred her. She lived in a Court, which was a Temple of purity ; for the good odours Saint Lewis, and Queene Blanch left behind them, were not as yet dispersed ; and it is obser- ved for proofe of unspeakable modesty, and goodnessse, that King Philip the Hardy ordai- ned, no Noble man should lye in the Queenes Palace with his owne Wife. Greatnesse excused not vice, nor could it preserve the faire Calisto ( losing her cha- stity ) from being reputed as ug- ly as a Beare.

The Duchesse Mary decea- sing, gave her daughter what she esteemed most precious, the richest of her Crownes, and the dowry of threelcore thousand pounds, which King Philip le Bel R had

The court hath long tasted the fruit of those ver- tues, which St. Lewis sowed in it.

Calisto, daughter of Lycus, mother of Arcas, de- ceived by Jupiter un- der the forme of Diana, was turned in- to a Beare by Juno.

Who retaineth  
another, keeps not  
his owne  
conscience  
in quiet.

When Andrew was  
brought to Naples,  
he was but seven  
years old, and his  
wife was then nine.

had designed her.

The Declaration King *Robert* made, that he might not leave the succession of his Crowne doubtfull, drew not out the thorne that stucke in his heart, nor could his conscience any longer suffer it. He enjoyed the Crowne of Naples by exclusion of his elder brothers children. To extinguish these pretensions, and to make but one house of two, he treated the marriage of his grandchilde *Ioane*, with *Andrew* second sonne of the King of Hungary, and that of *Mary* with *Lewis* already the declared King of Hungary. Vpon this resolution *Charles* his father departed from Buda, and came to Naples; *Robert* received this Prince with incredible joy, and thought his arrivall might repare the losse of the Duke of Calabria his sonne.

The impediments of consanguinity taken away by the Popes dispensation, the marriage was so

solemnized at Naples with extraordinary pompe and magnificence, on the eighteenth of September 1323. But dispositions were so contrary, and unequally suited, that there was no other successe expected from this Match, but misery. Thinking to bring concord into his house, he introduced trouble, left disturbance in his soule, and seeking to saile at the same instant, and with the same wind into two sundry Ports, saw himself carried away, both from the one and other. He thought, that by the breeding and education of them together, the love which might be enkindled in this first acquaintance, would encrease with age; but the designes of men oft times succeeding much otherwise than they project; this long conversation bred contempt in those young hearts, who being (as yet) incapable of amorous flames, were so accustomed to neglects and

Forced and constrained marriages have unfortunate events.

Amities, or enmities contracted in the first education, are not easily dissolved. Life is divided between cares and contentments, as betweene day and night.

disdaines, that when youth would enkindle affection, it found nothing therein but ice; and although bodies were joyned together to obey the King, yet their hearts were everlastingly separated.

Anxieties for the present, sorrow for the passed, and feare for the future, oppressed the soule of *Robert*, who divided all the dayes of his life between grieve and watching. In the end, pensiveness called him to yeeld himself up to the lodging, which old age had appointed him. He entred thereinto in the sixty fourth year of his age, 1342, the fifteenth of Ianuary.

He loved choyce wits (so were the Poets, and Provence Bardis of his time called.) He had in his Library the works of the fourteene famous Poets, the greatest parts of them Gentlemen; for it was the most generous exercise of the Nobility of Provence, in the

Poetry  
was in  
great e-  
steem un-  
der the  
Earles of  
Provence.

the sweet tranquility of peace.

He tooke delight to reade the writings, and heare the discourses of *Petrarch*, he spent three dayes in conference with him, so much esteeming his doctrine, as to compare it to the pearles of his Crowne. He wrote letters to Rome in his behalfe. Whilst Princes patronize learning, we shall ever have knowing men. It is not so necessary they have propension to Sciences, as affection to understanding men, for by cherishing, and giving eare to such, they learne much of them. As *Alexander* was praised, for having enforced Sparta to serve, and Athens to be silent, so had he the honour to reduce Genoa to constancy, and Florence to obedience. But he is not in this History to appeare so free and exempt from the strokes of Fortune, as not to meet with disasters in the midst of his prosperities. After the death of so many deare

R 3      friends

*Petrarch*  
made use  
of the in-  
ventions,  
and conceits  
of the Pro-  
vence-  
Poets.

A Prince,  
who e-  
steems  
knowing  
men, can-  
not be  
ignora nt.

Rattell of  
Mount  
Catin the  
thirtieth  
of August,  
1315.

Rigout lo-  
seth its  
authority,  
by the re-  
newing of  
punish-  
ments.

Robert did  
believe  
the predi-  
ction of  
Astrolo-  
gers, con-  
cerning

friends, and sorrow for the confusione he was to leave in his houle, he observed on the back side of his bright dayes, the losse of the battell of Mount Catin, where Charles of Tarentum was slaine, Philip of Tarentum his brother taken prisoner, and the Count of Gravines retiring, lost in a Marish. Fredericke of Arragon twice attempted on his life, and Castruccio had a purpose to burne him in his gallies, returning from Aix to Naples.

He loved justice, and hated rigour, experience having taught him, that under a cruell Prince, cruelty takes place of justice, and many so much accustomed themselves to severity, that the most tractable become thereby inhumane.

He loved the Mathematickes, gave credit to Astrologers, and having heard from them, France and England should arme one against another, he went from Naples

Naples to Avignon, humbly to sollicite the Pope to prevent the storme; so passionate was he in all the interests of France : Provence gave him the surname of Good, during his life, and after his decease. Ioane and Andrew succeeded him, and nothing wanted in them, but concord and wisedome; they were onely unhappy, in that they neither understood their own good, nor knew how to enjoy it. King Robert left them a flourishing estate, huge treasures, an assured peace, powerfull alliances, a people rich and peaceable, and although they bare not the titles of great Kings, as the Persian, they had estates which afforded the more contentment; Naples was their Babylon for winter, Avignon their Susa for the spring. What Province is there in the world, which enviyeth not the affluence of Campania, and the pleasures of Provence, which

the renew-  
ing of the  
warres, in  
the yeare  
1350.

It is a  
great un-  
happiness  
to be ig-  
norant of  
your owne  
happyness.

The  
Kings of  
Persia  
past the  
spring at  
Susa, win-  
ter in Ba-  
bylon, and  
summer in  
Media.

happily superaboundeth in so many rarities that others want.

Necessity sweetned, and moderated the harshnesse and discontent grown between his son in Law, and daughter; but after his death, respect vanished, and hatred succeeded, so much the more violent, as the current therof had been hindred. It was impossible to mixe two metals so contrary. The Swallow told her mother, she had found out a jolly husband, it was the Starling, to which she replyed; *Daughter, you will not long live together, for he loves winter, thou the spring.* The nature of Andrew was rough, and untractable, his spirit dull and heavy, not regarding the delights and exercises of any, but his own Nation, who never saw the Sun, either setting or rising: For they went to supper before it sat, and rose after it was up.

This young Prince, but nineteen yeares of age, suffered him-

selfe

Little friendship in contrary dispositions.

*Senecca saith, Cato called them Antipodes, who lived in this manner.*

selfe to fall into the contempt of his wife, and barrennesse of her affections, who in the way of her most private familiarities, entertained more pleasing Imaginations.

She was little more than eighteen yeare of age, when she began her reigne, at which time youth, and love entred in with her. Liberty consented with her beauty, and power with her desires to give her leave to taste all kinde of contentments, and all whatsoever was not proper for her Majesty, was proportionable to her youth. Splendor, curiosities, and costly Pompes of her Court, her diet, her Cabinet, her Chamber surpassed the Kings of Persia.

She was bred in the voluptuous pleasures of Italy, the quaint entertainments and gentle courtesies of the Court of Naples. Her picture to be seen at Fontainbleau representeth under a

R 5 lustrous

*Michael Montagne saith Quene Ioane loved not her husband, because in marriage rights he answered not her expectation.*

*Darius had for the teaster of his bed a Vine whereof the leavcs were of gold, and the grapes, diamonds, and rubies.*

## Second Historie.

*Thalestris Queen of the Amazons* coming before Alexander, prayed him to lye with her, that some notable thing might spring from them.

*Shee would not admit Andrew to carry the title of King. There is difference betweene actual*

lustrous and sprightly beauty, a regall stature, a strong wit; lust sparkles thorow all, and it well appeares this *Amazon* seeks for an ~~Alexander~~.

Her governesse who had no desire, but to humour her, rather added increase, than moderation to her appetites, thinking on nothing but to reigne in the Kingdome, whilst love swayed in the thoughts of her Mistresse, and considering, if *Andrew* had the authority, she no longer should be favoured, she imprinted in her heart, thoughts haughty, and proud, thereby intimating he shoud content himselfe to be the Queenes husband, and not to thinke to have any share in the Kingdome, or carry the title of King.

She is not crossed in any of her designes, but by those of *Robert the Franciscan Fryer*, whom *Charles King of Hungary* had appointed to be the governour of

## vnhappy Prosperitie.

of his sonne *Andrew*, an able man, and well knowing how to draw the quintessence out of busineses, but raw in Court affaires: for seeking the way of order, he for want of experience pursued the paths of subversion, yet (as the *Affe of Cuma*, seeing himself clothed with a Lyons skin,) put himself in the ranke of the principall Lords of the Counsell. The *Catanian* likewise practising her deepest plots, stirrd like a Mastife at all that came neare her, barking at the least noise, though ignorant from whence it came.

That she might the more absolutely reign over the person of the Queen, she sequestred all the Hungarians from the knowledge of astaires, sent old servitors home to their houses, gave their offices to others. She made *Protonotary*, and principall Secretary of State *Roger Archbishop of Berry*, *Philip Bishop of Cavaillon* Chancellor *Bertrand de Baux*, Lord

judgement  
and inten-  
tion.

The Ly-  
ons skin  
covereth  
the Affe,  
but his  
voyce be-  
trayes him

The first  
note of  
disorder in  
govern-  
ment is,  
when old  
servans  
are taken  
from em-  
ployment.

## Second Historie.

A great  
courage  
tyed to the  
rocke of  
necessitie  
cannot doe  
its best.

Inheri-  
tance of  
the Prince  
of Taren-  
tum cut off

A tree  
which af-  
fordeth  
drinke to  
the inhab-  
itants of  
the Ile of  
Ferro one  
of the se-  
ven Can-  
ary Islands.

Lord chiefe Justice, *Thomas Earle* of Saint Severine Constable, *Robert Cabanes* her sonne high Steward, *Charles Artus Chamberlaine*, *Jeffrey Earle* of Mursan her sonne in law high Admirall. She counselled the Queen ever to keep the Princes of the bloud in want, so that taken by the beake, the wings of their courage might be useleise. She caused the County of Ebula, which had been the inheritance of the Count of Gravine King Roberts sonne, to be given to *Robert Cabanes* her sonne, to her daughter *Sancha* the County of Mursan, and to another, Terlice. There was no hope of honour, recompence, justice, or favour, but from her hand. Heaven was of Brasse, if she made it not showre liberality; She seemed the tree that watereth the Ile of Ferro: All which her favour refresheth not, becomes dry, and withered.

What

## Unhappie Prosperitie.

What extravagancy, and giddiness of Fortune! A Landresse swayeth a kingdome composed of so many mighty, rich, and Noble families. A wretched woman forceth the soule of a great Queene, and curbs it as if it were interdicted or charmed. What can we say, nay what say we not, when we behold the brats of the Scullion of a kitchin raised to the prime dignities of a kingdome? They who descended from the first founders of Thebes bare from their birth the marke of the brygge of a launce on their thighs.

The race of *Raymond Cabanes* should bear the leg of a beefe-pot for a note of their extraction, and shall women that are borne long time after bring forth Moores, they will renew the birth of *Raymond the Moore*.

And because *Andrew* had received a Briefe from the Pope wherein he was named King, she made

They who  
were of  
the race of  
*Semes* bare  
the figure  
of a Lance  
on their  
bodies.

A Grecian  
woman  
having  
brought  
forth a  
blacke  
child, was  
accused of  
adultery  
with a  
Moore,  
but it was  
found shee  
in a fourth  
degree de-  
scended  
from an  
Ethiopian.

Ambition ever takes  
for pretext  
disorder  
in govern-  
ment.  
Secret  
faults of  
Princes  
have their  
excuses,  
the publick  
have none

made the Queene imagine, that how little authority soever she left to her husband, it would be sufficient to hold her under command. If the Queene at any time told her she was too violent, that she could not continue, that every one murmured against the excesse of her power, she made her believe it was not her they meant, but that they thereby invaded her Princely authority, and that such as are desirous to trouble a state, ever use to disgrace the government. This Princesse committed no other fault but in too much giving way to the imperious and violent passions of her Governesse, preferring her contentment before her own, or the weale of the state. Private errours bare their excuses, the Infant findes his, in his childhood, the woman in her sex, the theefe in the occasion, the rebell in his defence: but the offence of the publicke hath none for particular affections,

affections, and although she may alleadge, the same thing hath been done, yet cannot her innocence be pleaded upon the example of anothers folly.

Had nothing bin irregular but in the youth of this Princesse, it might have beeне tolerable, for we willingly excuse imperfections; which call in, age or nature for warrant, the people had one-ly murmured, for of necessity this Raven must incessantly croak against the Eagle, Temerity thrusts its censure even into the Cabinets of Kings: but when the affaires appeare thereby ruined, Counsels weakned, the reputatiōn of the State decayed, every one began to exclaine against the Queene, who suffered her selfe to be transported by the Torrent of the passions of the Catanian, and honest men grieved to see her to deceived by such impostures, and illusions, sent oft-times these plaints to heaven.

The imi-  
tation of  
anothers  
vice is not  
innocent.

Anger  
must be  
moderate-  
ly exerci-  
sed in  
faults  
which  
have na-  
ture for  
warrant.  
It is not  
lawfull for  
the sub-  
ject to  
censure  
the life, or  
pleasures  
of his  
Prince.

Oh

One ever complains of heaven for disorders on earth.

When the treasure of a Prince is exhausted, ill wayes are invented to fill it again.

The affection of the Catanian withstands the Popes Legate.

Oh God, where is now thy Territory? Where thy Justice? Where thy Thunders? Why sufferest thou a woman, which is come of nothing, which hopeth all, and for whom all is too little, to abuse thy patience? Thou wil have her live, that we may perish. The evill were supportable, if it would have an end, but time aggravates it, and our patience increaseth it. The coffers of the State are empty, they must be filled with our bloud and teares, all the members waxe meagre to puffe up this spleene, and if heaven afford not a helping hand, we foone shall see more evils than remedies.

The Pope advertised of this wicked government commanded Buls to be pronounced by publications of Churches, and parishes, revoking all whatsoever she had done without advice of those whom King Robert had ordained to assist her. He sent a Legate

Legate to set affaires into order, but finding the fever changed into frenzy, and the storme much greater than his wisdome, he returneth much displeased that the faction of the Catanian had seditiously banded against his legation. The Queene also complaineth, that the Pope useth her like a child, seeking to put her into pupillage. Friar Robert solliciteth the Pope for the crowning of ~~Andrew~~, Queen Elizabeth comes expressly from Avignon to intreat her, Joane is earnest to the contrary, and would bee crowned alone. The Pope sends her word he cannot crowne her without her husband, shee consents thereunto, provided it may not give him more right, than hee ought to have in her Kingdome.

The Catanian, her sonne, her sonne in law, & friends conspire together to hinder this Coronation, but her faction proverth too weake

Elizabeth  
Queene of  
Hungary  
mother of  
~~Andrew~~,  
offereth to  
defray the  
charge of  
the Coro-  
nation,  
which was  
great.

That  
which ma-  
ny do to  
advance  
themselves  
puls them  
backe.

The grea-  
ter share  
one hath  
in the ship,  
the more  
he wisheth  
the safety  
of it.

weake, God had otherwise ap-  
pointed. Frogs must be silent  
when heaven thunders. The  
Pope sends Cardinals to Cajeta  
to crowne *Andrew*, and *Ioane*.  
This Coronation gave authority  
to *Andrew*, but hastned his ru-  
ine: For those who had conju-  
red to hinder it, fearing to bee  
punished for it, let the Catanian  
know they were ready for any  
thing. *A crime which despaire  
propofeth, is quickly resolved on.*  
The Princes and Lords distasted  
they had no share in steering the  
Veffell, wherein their fortunes  
were embaqued, retire from the  
Count, Queene *Sanca* went out  
of this Egypt, and shut her ſelfe  
up in a Monastery of our Lady of  
**Crosse**, which ſhe had built, and  
there tooke the habit of Saint  
*Francis*. The more ſpeedily to ac-  
taine the prize of the Goale, ſhe  
dispoiled her ſelfe of all worldly  
greatneſſe, and had no other aime  
but humility, well knowing the  
gate

gate of heauen is low, and  
ſtraight, & we muſt ſtoope to paſſe  
therewit.

It is no wonder if *Ioane* ſo  
speedily haſtned to evill Coun-  
ſels, which ruined her, ſince ſhe  
uſed neither rule, nor moderati-  
on: For all whatſoever ſhe fea-  
red, or reverenced, was gone,  
her Grandfather dead, her Mo-  
ther dead, there was not any left  
but this good old woman, who  
with the winke of an eyecenſu-  
red her actions, and even by fi-  
lence reprehended them. She  
ſaw her ſelfe in a worfe condi-  
tion than a young Princesſe might  
be, who hath nothing to feare,  
nor ſees any, who may teach  
her how to rectifie her ac-  
tions.

Frier *Robere* who had much  
adoe to inkindle the courage of  
*Andrew*, to take the Crowne.  
(For his nature cold and remiffe,  
ever hung back,) had likewile  
much busines to make him keep  
it

Nothing  
can happe  
more dan-  
gerous to  
a young  
Prince tha-  
to love  
none and  
to do all  
upon his  
own head.

*The mi-  
ſtresses*  
ſaid that  
in publike  
fights, they  
that were  
kindmoſt  
were ne-  
ver crow-  
ned.

Evill counsell, to stay the fire by burning; and ruine, by destruction.

Ambition will see nothing, which exceedeth, or equalleth it.

*Cleon and Clistophon ruined, & overthrew the State of Athens.*

it on his head, and resist this Catanian, so powerfull to doe all, that she commanded Devils, sent them with her packets like Posts, and held them to the chaine, as slaves. He changeth the battery, sends word to *Lewis* King of Hungary, the Crowne of Naples is lost to *Andrew*, and that it is in him to preserve the inheritance of his Ancestors; and for that purpose it was fit hee married *Mary*, sister of *Joane*, according to King *Roberts* intention, and that comming with good troopes to marry her, he may also gaine the Crowne.

Had this religious man, and the Catanian, well understood one another, the State being at their discretion, they had done at Naples, what *Cleon* and *Clistophon* did at Athens, to manage a Kingdome at their pleasures; but both of them sought to have superiority. Rome will rather suffer two Masters, than either

either Pompey or Cæsar endure a Rival.

*Charles of Durazzo*, eldest sonne of *John Prince of Morea*, eighth sonne of *Charles the second*, smelt out this plot, and was too hard for the Friar: For he entred into Castle d'Ovo, by intelligence of the household servants, seized on the Princesse *Mary*, carried her away to his own house, & married her in his Garden, on the last day of April, 134.

He did not discover his purpose to any man, nor askt the Queenes consent, who was infinitely distasted therewith, very well perceiving this Match was made upon her Tombe. As the hope of sucession makes him impatient who pretends, so it ever keepes his heart full of jealousies and distrusts, who is in possession. Ambition thinkes Nature is too slow in her carreere.

At the same time his younger bro-

A plot discovered is easily disolved.

The actions of him who is to succeed, are suspected by him that reig-  
neth-

This is he  
shall cause  
~~Loren~~ to be  
strangled,  
in the year  
1382.

Who pro-  
fiteh by  
ruine, coun-  
selleth it  
confident-  
ly.

Conspira-  
cies are en-  
couraged  
by hatred,  
interest, or  
revenge,

brother, *Lewis Count of Gravinc*  
married *Margarite daughter of*  
*Robert of Saint Severine, Count*  
*of Gavaillon, and from this mar-*  
*riage came Charles the third*  
*King of Naples, Duke of Duraz-*  
*zo, who seized on the King-*  
*dome.*

*Charles of Durazzo, and Ma-*  
*ry his wife, tooke such content*  
*in fomenting this violent enni-*  
*ty betweene the Queene & her*  
*Husband, and blew with all the*  
*strength of their lungs that fire,*  
*fro whence they expected their*  
*light: For it cannot go ill with*  
*the Queene, but it must go well*  
*with them, and should the*  
*Crowne fall from her head, they*  
*are ready at hand to gather up*  
*the peeces.*

The Catanian walkes by the  
same path to another plot, and  
meets with them in the resoluti-  
on, to vindicate the Queen from  
captivity, and the Kingdome  
from confusion, by the banish-  
ment

meng and extirpation of For-  
raigners. The most crutfy ser-  
vants of the Queene consent  
thereto. Those who feare to bee  
looked after in the matter of  
conspiracy against the crow-  
ning of *Andrew* pressed her to  
resolute, and execute in an in-  
stant. The Catanian spake of  
ridding her of the Hangarians,  
yet only meant the King: But  
the most notorions mischesifes are  
never so plainly proposed; they are  
disguised, and the intelligent  
understand with halfe a word.

About this time the Queene is  
with childe, and that which  
should re-unite her heart with  
her Husband, augmenteth the  
dis-union; for the Catanian, sup-  
posing the King might bee the  
more authorized, by seeing him-  
selfe a Father, and that Friar *Re-*  
*bert* might procure his resoluti-  
on, to banish ail those who ab-  
used the youth and goodnessse of  
the Queene, caused her to swal-  
low

An ex-  
crable  
crime ever  
disguiseth  
it selfe,  
when one  
proposeh  
it, who if  
he should  
see it in  
his man-  
ner, would  
abbor it.

To take ill counsell upon faite shewes is to drink poyon in a golden cup.

Who resisteth not evill, consenteth thereto; and who hindres it not, countenan ceth it.

low the poison of an horrid counsell, in the sweetnesse of her liberty, saying; Heaven would do her a great favour, if he made her a Widdow, before she were a Mother.

In mine opinion this Lady was too well borne, and her courage too noble, to consent to the death of her Husband. But perhaps she let the Catanian doe what she would, who had wholly ruled her from her Cradle: For indeed, her soule darkned with the fogs of hatred she bare towards Andrew, no more servyd her, than her eyes, which passion had blinded. Shee was advised to suffer her selfe to bee led by Fortune, which rather favoured great confidence than vertue that preached cowardly patience.

The resolution of killing the King is undertaken between the Catanian, the High Steward her Sonne, her Daughter, her Son in

in Law, Charles Duke of Durazzo, and the Duchesse Mary his wife, all who agreed upon this point, that their own safety, the Queens contentment, and the good of the Kingdome depended upon this act. Some Cabinet Lords participated therein, not being able any longer to endure the harsh and proud predominance of the Hungarians. It is a great un-happinesse for a stranger to be in grace out of his Countrey, for he is enforced, either to suffer himselfe to be oppressed by envy, or commit unspeakable outrages to free himselfe from the envious.

There was no great distance of time between the plot and the execution. The night which preceded it (thus sayes Collenutius, but affirmes it not) the Queene twisted a cord of gold, and silke; Andrew asked her, what she meant to doe with it, she answered, It is to hang thee. It may be

S hate

It is a great un-happinesse for a stranger to be in a for-raine Country. Envie must be tamed, or you must suffer your selfe to be mastered by the envious.

Many things come into the thought, which the tongue uttereth not.

The discovery of the conspiracy advanceth the effect : Macrinus finding

hate suggested such a thought to this woman, but there is little probability that she spake it. For either she had no part in the plot of her husbands death, (and this word made her culpable) or she was in the conspiracy, and that sufficed to discover, and convince her at that time, of an execrable wickednesse, having undertaken it; and of extreme impudence, having pronounced it. But we must speake no more of it, lest we thrust suspition into an heart lesse sensible & distrustfull than *Andrewes* was. It would not have been forgotten in the letters, and declarations, the King of Hungary his brother, wrote to the Pope, and Christian Princes.

Many had knowledge of this impious eomplot; *But a secret is not long concealed, when a third man knowes it:* Those who were embaquiered therein, fearing to be discovered, hastned execution, saying, In matters of such impor-

tance, nothing must be done to halves. Great crimes never ought to enter into the imagination, but when they are resolved on, they must be acted. They are not unlike certaine viands, of which if we eat little they are poyson, and nutriment, if plentifully.

The resolution being made to put *Andrew* to death, a silken cord was chosen to be the instrument: the time, night: Executonere *Charles Artus*, whom the Catanian had created Lord Chamberlaine: the place, the Queenes withdrawing roome. What monster of cruelty ! What monstrous cruelty ! A King unsafe in the company of his wife, and her Cabinet become a place of execution. The Palace of kings is holy, the Mount Palatine was sacred, and venerable, onely because the Emperour there made his abode.

At the time of this hideous, and damnable conspiracy, *Andrew*

himselfe to be discovred by *Maternianus*, executeth by *Martialis* what he had conceived against *Antonie*. There is more peril to resolve, than execute a conspiracy

The house of a Prince is sacred, every one ought to be safe there, as in a Temple.

is called from his chamber, to come unto the Queens lodging: others say, that being in bed with her, he was awakened, as upon some matter of much importance: but in one kinde or other, putting his head out of the chamber doore, either to go in, or out, the murderers cast a cord about his necke, strangled him, and tyed him to the bannes of the window.

All the City was in an uprore at so execrable an act, and so cruel a spectacle, Could the people have had means to force the Castle, they had not sought for the murderers any where, but in the Queens company. They fell upon certaine Calabrian Grooms of the Chamber, who dyed innocent. The actors saved themselves at Constantinople, many were taken, but the Catanian caused some to be strangled, and others to have their tongues cut out, who might discover her wicked-

wickednesse: the punishment whereof she already felt in her soule, by the torment of her conscience, and imagination, that all aimed at her, that her shadow acculeth her, that Executioners torture her, that the Sunne denyeth her his beames, that her presence slackneth his rising that he may not pollute his bright rayes with an object so detestable.

Fryar Robert, after this miserable fact, shut himselfe up, there was no way of safety for him, he beheld nothing round about him, but precipices. I know not what became of him. The History speaking of his authority, threateneth him with ruine, but tells not how it happened. Questionlesse, it was not without repentence to have been in the Court, as out of his Element, and led a life quite contrary to his Profession. Good religious men rest in the discipline of the Cloyster,

S 3      feldome

*Thyselfe,*  
after his  
incest, fled  
from the  
earth, and  
hell, and  
said, his  
presence  
slackned  
the Sun,  
a unwilling  
to pollute  
his rays  
with his  
wicked a  
mien.

An evill  
man fe-  
reth his  
own sha-  
dow.

A reli-  
gious man  
from his  
rule and  
monasterie  
is out of  
his ele-  
ment.

Birth of  
Carobert  
Posthumus,  
sonne of  
Andrew,  
the five &  
twentich  
of Decem.  
1346.

Youth and  
solitude  
incompat-  
ible th-  
roughout  
the world.

seldome stir abroad, live strictly, pray and meditate incessantly, study when they can, persevere in all purity, and have more care to do well, than speake well. For at the day of judgement good dedes shall be weighed, not smooth words. Ioane was delivered on Christmisse day of a Sonne, and the joy of this birth was troubled with the newes, that Lewis King of Hungary came with an huge Army, to revenge his brothers death. Her Councell besought her to marry, that she might have some one, to entrust with the mannage of her Armes. She matched with Lewis of Tarentum, sonne of the brother of King Roberts, one of the goodliest Princes of that age.

The marriage consummate, she thereon askes counsell and dispensation of the Pope, declaring unto him; her age permitted not solitude, nor could her Councell endure to see her deprived the comfort

comfort of a husband, that many Princes sued to her, that the affection she bare to her owne houle fixed her thoughtss upon the Prince of Tarentum. The Pope hereof advertised the King of Hungary brother of Andrew, shewing it would be scandalous to Christianity to see a wife marry againe after she had killed her husband, and match with him who was suspected to have been both an adulterer and murderer. In the meane time they lived contentedly, regarded not rumours which sought to offend them, nor resisted them but with stopping their eares, and made faire weather, not imagining what the eternall Justice had ordained for them. But the Queen understanding the King of Hungary marched with a huge army to revenge the death of his brother, sent a Gentleman to him with a letter to this effect.

Bretber, were I able to expresse  
S 4 my

Scanda-  
lous mar-  
riage with  
adultery,  
and the  
murder of  
ahusband .

So the  
condem-  
ned make  
sport  
whilst the  
Judges  
give sen-  
tence for  
their con-  
demnati-  
on.

Great  
graces are  
dumb, and  
little,  
speake.

The inher-  
itance is  
better lo-  
red than  
the heire.

my sorrow unto you, I should not feele the violence therof, which exceedeth my force, and your imagination. This Gentleman will shew you it to be such, that nothing can ease it but revenge upon that which is the cause thereof: For which purpose, and for the good of my kingdome, I sought not out a second husband anywhere but in mine owne house, and have freed my selfe from the sollicitations of other Princes, who more loved my state than me. With his valour and my courage I hope to derive light out of darknesse, and to make truth triumph over calumny. Much may you fortifie my hope, if you entertaine as much affection for the innocency of the sonne, and protection of the mother, as I have to tell you, that I am your deare sister.

JOANE.

The answer of Lewis was very rough, and couched in few words:

The

The loose life you have lead heretofore, the absolute power you have taken upon you, the neglect of revenge, your second marriage, and the excuse you make to punish the fault, are sufficient to convince you had a share, or gave consent to the massacre of your husband: for which cause you ought not to expect to have either friend, or brother.

LEWIS.

This letter ran every where up and down, was favourably read by turbulent and calumnious spirits, and the people who overprise bruits, and who upon the first mention of evill against any, forget all the good had bin done, scandalized the life and honour of the Queen.

But as truths commonly passe amongst impostures, it was said throughout the City of Naples, the Catanian had perpetrated this horrible parricide, and that the Count Ebule her sonne high

S5

Steward

The pe-  
pic is the  
Barbers  
Py-anne  
which  
hearing a  
trumpet  
sound, for-  
got all she  
had lear-  
ned before  
No man  
is so great  
a lyar, who  
Speakes  
not some  
truth.

## Second Historie.

Steward of Naples, had hastned execution, that he might the more freely enjoy the Queens affection.

The many benefits (saith *Boccace*) she had conferred on *Robert Cabanes*, sonne of *Philippa*, and the Count Murisan husband of *Sancha* her daughter, made it be thought, this liberality was rather a reward for love, than merit, and that it could not be done, but with losse of the honour, and chastity of the Queen: nay although we should not thinke so, yet were there many who said *Philippa* was the secret instrument of love, and familiarity, between the Queen and her sonne. This mischiefe is credible enough, for nothing important was either treated, or deliberated, but in the presence of *Philippa*, *Robert*, and *Sancha*, nor was the Cabinet open to any other. But he thereupon concludes we must slip over these suspitions:

For

Exaltatio-  
nis tam  
egregia non  
atque ma-  
culata pudici-  
tie libera-  
Est & con-  
cedens in  
Ætibi p.u.  
devene e.  
Nam & si  
fas credere  
non sit, non  
defuere qui  
dicereant  
Inocinio  
Pb:lippe  
Ioannini  
ad ap:pick-  
us devenisse  
Roberti.

## Vnbappie Prosperitie.

For the least familiarities of men wound the reputation of the most honest women.

Ladies, who will secure their honour from the arrowes of slander, must not give any occasion of suspition, their chastity is as a Diamond, which for one sleight blemish loseth much of its value, and although it somewhat exceed the ordinary size, the worth doth not therewith proportionably increase. This Princesse was nothing carefull to disapprove in publicke, by actions, pure, and sincere the evill judgements, which were made of her secret deportments.

Domestick examples perverting more than terrain, had fixt upon her heart some disposition to voluptuous pleasures, King *Robert* had had by a faire Mistresse of his a faire daughter named *Mary*, wanton, & much beloved of *Boccace*; but such thefts in these times were covered: no man

She is not fullychast, who occa-  
sioneth the doubt  
of her chastity.  
Life must be chan-  
ged, to alter the  
language of slande-  
ters.

*Plutarch*  
S. i. t. c  
land  
should not  
be tilled,  
the fruit  
whereof  
must of  
necessity  
be hidde.

## Second Historie.

Ioane had  
fourre hus-  
bands, Andrew,  
P. of  
Hungary,  
Lewys of  
Taten-  
tum, Iames  
son of the  
King of  
Majrica,  
Orso Duke  
of Bruns-  
wick.

There are  
injuries,  
which pull  
patience,  
out of the  
most ten-  
der and  
peaceable  
natures.

man durst publikely till the lands,  
the fruits whereof might not be  
reaped, but by stealth. Night and  
secrecy were then the Curtaines  
of love, nor ever did the Sunne  
surprise Mars with Venus. This  
Princesse hath beene condemned  
for great incontinence, yet doe I  
find things, in her, which sei-  
dome happen in those who are  
more curious to preserve their  
beauty perfect, than their consci-  
ences and fidelit.

All the choyce wits of that  
time, praised her; she was infi-  
nitely beloved by her people of  
Italy, and Provence; shee had  
three husbands after Andrew;  
the bravest Princes of that time,  
and as it is not likely their birth-  
ditposed them to a life disgrace-  
full, or a servitude shamefull, so  
there is not any appearance their  
courage consented to dissemble  
effences so palpable and preg-  
nant, which no man, how  
good, or patient soever, could tol-  
erate. But

## Unhappie Prosperite.

But admit shooe entertained  
affection for others, why sought  
she out so curiously youth, beau-  
ty, strength in her husbands, did  
she not well know that disho-  
nouring them, shee put her selfe  
into hazard of the frenesies of  
jealousie, which transpor-  
tech even bruit beasts to resent-  
ment.

Had shee beene foolish as they  
make her, shooe had chosen out  
husbands who durst not mur-  
mure against her pleasures. Pop-  
pea Sabina desired Nero for a  
friend, not a husband, doubting  
lest the quality of an Emperour,  
might cut off her liberty, and O-  
tho her husband tolerated from  
Nero, what he would not endure  
in another. Princes do not long  
suffer these flies about their no-  
ses, they quickly free themselves  
from their very shadowes, and  
in matter of jealousie of state,  
or love, suspicion creates a cer-  
tainty.

And

Cratis fell  
in love  
with a  
goat, the  
male goat  
for jealou-  
sie butted  
his head  
against  
cratis, and  
slew him

Poppea mar-  
ried to O-  
tho, would  
not have  
Nero for a  
husband,  
Plutarch  
gives a  
reason :  
because  
she was  
wanton.

Great men  
think all  
true, which  
they be-  
lieve,

A hideous  
tempest at  
Naples  
the 25. of  
Novem. in  
the yeare.  
1343.

And although she strayed a little from the rules, which they hould who are, or would seeme chaste, and that her affability ever cast some blemish upon her modesty, she recompenced this levity, with so many other great and noble vertues, that calumny was stricken dumb, meeting with an incomparable bounty, a royall magnificence, piety without scruple, liberality without choice or limit. There was at Naples, so huge, and dreadfull a Tempest, that it was thought the Sea would swallow up the City, nothing was to be heard every where, but lamentations, or rather yellings; She went barefoote with all her Ladies to the Churches, to implore the mercy of God; Ships in the haven were wracked, a Galley wherein were foure hundred malefactors, was saved.

The Pope exhorted her to execute justice upon the parricide.

The

The Nobility of the Kingdome besought her, shewing how she stood therein ingaged to them, to her selfe, and her Sonne; Nothing so much blemished her reputation, as her delay of this duty, so that being no longer able to refuse them, she proclaimed a great meeting, appeared there in a Throne of Majesty, and easily found the power which the presence of a Prince hath over subjects. The dumbe eloquence of her eyes which reflected no lesse feare, when they were incensed, than comfort when pleased, effectually served her intention, shee spake in this manner.

### Queene Ioane's speech.

I Neither wish my selfe so much ill, nor desire such contentment to mine enemies, as to let them thinke I covet to derive from this assembly any approbation of my actions:

A meeting by the advice of the Prince of Orange.

The presence of the Prince works gret effect in the hearts of his subjects.

Beauty is  
a dumbe  
eloquence.  
Though a  
Prince  
need not  
give an ac-  
count of  
his acti-  
ons but to  
God, yet  
he is bound  
for his re-  
putation  
sake to  
publike  
satisfac-  
tion.

God is so  
good that,  
he would  
not suffer  
evill, if he  
meant not  
to derive  
good out  
of it.

actions: I am not to give account thereof to any but God; Princes may on earth call together arbitrators of their quarrels, but must seeke out their Judge in heaven.

The afflictions which God layes on mee exceed the strength of my youth to barent, and my wisedome to remedy, but not my courage to tolerate.

I take them, as he gives them, and expect the good he will derive from my evill. But it is my comfort, that not depending on any thing but his Sovereignty (where there is nought but justice, and truth) I am not subject to the judgement of men, whose passion is their reason.

Nay I have this comfort: that I am defamed by those, whose praises I should esteeme injuries, and that such as understand their impostures retaine so much candor as to send them backe againe, from whence they cam: The King of Hunga-

Hungary hath published against me all that, which the most inward calumny may invent, and hath ticked up all the fomre he could gather from infernall Cerberus, to throw it on mine honour. Hee makes me more wanton than Cleopatra, more insatiable than Messalina, more cruel than Clytemnestra. Had he found me in these infamous houses, where every one knowes why that place is frequented, he could not use me more unworthily.

He saies I have failed in loyalty to my husband. Eye upon treachery: he saies I did it, because he thinks I should have done it, and that the harsh and barbarous conditions of his brother might dispence with a Queene, who being in the flower of her age, had no cause to complaine that were denied her its perfections, or heaven favours.

It is not a silly tricke to derive the proffes of the heart, from the fore-

Cleopatra  
beloved of  
I. Caesar, of  
Gn. Pompey, of M.  
Anthony  
Messalina  
wife of  
Claudius,  
the sinke  
of all abominations,  
Clytemne-  
stra murder-  
red Aga-  
memnon  
her hus-  
band.

We can-  
not judge  
the inward  
man by  
the out-  
ward.

They who  
deceive  
their hus-  
bands, re-  
compence  
with good  
word, e-  
vill deeds.

Often-times great mischieves are imputed to accident, to excuse the plot.

forehead? When he sayes I had nothing in store for Andrew, but scorne and contempt, and that I reserved my affections for others. What he produceth so condemne me, justifies me: who knoweth not that such as deceive their husbands, flatter them, whilſt others, whose consciences appraide them not, are more impious, satisfying themselves with the interiour approbation of their vertue.

He sayes, I am guilty of his death. It is false. If my ſex permitted, I would challenge him, and make these words returne into his heart with the lyce, or his life iſſue forth with his ſbane. I would quickly be resolved upon it, my courage ſhould make difficulties abated, and ſbane valiant.

If I would have committed this wicked act, I had meanes to performe it in a more ſecret manner, and to impute that to accident, which came by violence. I could

not

not doe it alone, and if any one therin affifted me, let him ſpeak, let him accufe me, I promise him pardon. The King of Hungary affures him reward, but Heaven threatneth both the one and the other with Hell. What ſay I? It is a jest, to ſpeak to a Cyclope of the feare of the Gods.

He affirms I am married to the Prince of Tarentum, but have I done it without the Churches dispensatio? without the advice of my Councell? without the neceſſity of my Kingdome? And where are the Laws, which forbid Princesses of eightene a ſecond wedlocke? Must none but virgins marrie.

He addeth, I loved him not, one ſhould haue beene verie tender and compassionate of heart to affeft his person King Robert made it appear when he gave him to me, that he reſpected not ſo much my contentment, as his owne. The honour; I did him to marry him,

ob-

Polyphemus mocked at Ulysses, who ſpake to him of the feare of the Gods.

In many places ſecond wedlocks have beeene accused of inconti- nency.

So soone  
as sover-  
aigne au-  
thority is  
shaken, it  
is lost and  
confoun-  
ded.

Who is  
glad of his  
owne losse  
never lo-  
ved the  
possession.

obliged him to retributio[n] of ho-  
nor, but he on the contrary sought  
to have all authority; and I was  
enforced to take it from him, that  
I might not submit the Lawes of  
my Kingdome to the discretion of  
strangers. I was jealous of mine  
authorit[y], as of the apple of mine  
eye, of the heart of my State. My  
Ancestors taught me, that if this  
rocke once totter, it cannot be stay-  
ed, the end of its motion is ruine.  
They say, I bewailed him not. Ve-  
rily, were I bound to deplore de-  
liverance from an insupportable  
torment, I confess to have done a-  
misse, for my teares were quickly  
dryed up. That I neglected there-  
venge of his death, this concernes  
me not, those whom I carusted  
with the care of my Lawes, and  
justice must answere for that:  
But revenge, not sorrow, have  
brought me hither, to tell you I am  
displeased with his death, as your  
Queen, who considereth the sequel  
of impunity, the scandal of other  
Princes,

Princes, the reproach of this Na-  
tion, and who shoulde account her  
selfe unworthy the Crowne God  
hath placed on her head, if she em-  
ployed not it, and her proper selfe  
in the punishment of this Parri-  
cide, protesting, there is not any  
person of what quality soever,  
whom I abandon not without hope  
of grace, or pardon. I conjure you  
to serve me in this designe, and to  
take away the maske of passion,  
that the integrity of justice may  
appeare, and the Sun dissolve the  
Ice, which hath hitherto covered  
this wicked act.

The assembly thanked her for  
this declaration, praised her ju-  
stice, and the magnanimous care  
she had of her reputation, which  
could not any way be more sen-  
sibly wounded, than by deferring  
the enquiry, and punishment of  
a crime so enormous and horrid,  
the dissembling whereof were  
injustice, and clemency, cruelty.

Hugo de Baix, Prince of O-  
range

All Prin-  
ces are  
brothers,  
and resent  
the offence  
of Princes.

To de-  
spise the  
punish-  
ment of  
great  
crimes, is  
to give  
way to  
much  
greater.

To punish  
inferiors,  
is but to  
crush little  
animals,  
saith Sanc*ta*

*Eretto  
in manu  
equale in  
conspicu  
Neopatra-  
na ubi  
medio ma-  
ris in fave,  
vix regionis  
spectare  
populo in  
Philippina  
carpit Mi-  
sellam,  
Sanctiam,  
& Rober-  
tum.*

range, Count of Avellina was appointed, with absolute and sovereign power, veyd of limitation, to punish the guilty. He laid not hold on wretched and miserable creatures, which like little animals do nothing, but foule the fingers of those who crush them; he caused to be taken many Lords, many Ladies of the Chamber, and Cabinet, then the Catanian, the High Steward of Naples her sonne, the Count Murfan her sonne in Law, and Sancha her daughter. And that the Common-wealch might publickly receive the satisfaction he promised upon this proceeding, the Processe being drawn, he without the Town erected a torture, wherin he exposed to the eyes of all the City, and Kingdome, the Catanian and her children, who suffered great torments, as an Antipast of some farre more exquisite. The most miserable thought themselves happy

happy in comparison of such prosperity. Not to be moved with these examples, is as Pirreh's Pig, to eat barley greedily in the greatest violence of torment. Boccace tells us not what they confessed; but by the subsequent punishment we may ghesse of the confession.

Certaine dayes after, they are dragged naked thorow the Town upon a hurdle, then tyed to three ship-mastes, burning pinthers twitched them, rasors flaid them, and flames choaked them. The Catanian old and weake, dyed in the midst of the torment, her heart and entrails were torne out, her head set upon one of the gates of Naples, and the rest of her body turned into ashes. Her daughter Sancha was burnt alive, Robert her sonne, half rosted in the fire, was drawn thence alive, and as it the punishment had been too gentle for publicke satisfaction, the people

Enraged  
hatred en-  
vieth the  
executio-  
ners com-  
mission.

Egineta  
counselled  
**Pausanias**  
after the  
victory of  
**Platus** to  
hang **Mer-  
denius** his  
enemy on  
a gallows.

You coun-  
sell me not  
well, said  
he, it only  
is proper  
to Barba-  
rians to be  
cruell to  
the dead.

ple haled him shewe out the City in the dir, and kennels, then pulled his heart and bowels forth, rent him in pieces, and there were some who barbarously inhumane, rare him with their nailes, and fixed their teeth upon him, not so much for revenge, as through fury, and brutishnesse.

This history is come to its pe-  
riod, it goes no further, he that  
would know how Queen Joane  
went out of this tragedy, must  
travell farther therein, than we  
have done. It sufficeth to tell  
you the Catanian drew upon the  
Kings and Kingdome of Sicily a  
deluge of calamities, fastning  
misery, as with nailes of Ada-  
mant, to the Crowne of Naples,  
never prosperous either for Joan,  
her foure husbands, her sister, or  
those of her race.

**Lewis** King of Hungary, en-  
tered twice into Naples, as into an  
enemies Country to revenge his  
brothers

brothers death, he enforced the Queen to retire into Nice, put the Duke of Durazzo to death at Aversa in the same place where his brother had been strangled, Mary his wife escaped into Provence with her two daughters in the habit of a Franciscan. The Pope declareth the Queen innocent, treateth peace with Lewis, she adopts **Lewis** Duke of Anjou, sonne of King **John**. **Charles** Duke of Durazzo revolts against Joane, besiegeth her in the Castle Ovo, makes her yeeld, causeth her with her sister to be strangled, & usurps the Crown. **Lewis** King of Hungary dyes a Leaper, **Charles** is slaine by **Elizab:th**, She by the faction of **Charles**: **Ladiflaus** her sonne dyed of poysone in the imbrace-  
ments of a Lady.

Joane the second succeedeth, marrieth **Jacques de Bourbon** Earle of March for her second husband, who unable to correct,

The King  
of Hunga-  
ry had a  
black stan-  
dard wherō  
was pour-  
trayed the  
strangling  
of his  
brother.

Queene  
Joane  
stran-  
gled at  
Naples  
the 22 of  
May 1352

Joane had two favourites, her husband cut off the head of one, and she stabbed the other.

or tolerate her imperfections, forlakes her, and shuts himselfe up in a Cloyster. She adopteth *Alfonsus*, and having nothing constant in her, but her inconstancy, revokes the adoption, sought to kill him, and declarath *Rene Duke of Anjou, Earle of Provence*, her heire. He did not long enjoy her Crowne. In all this we must conclude, that if successe waiteth on unjust prosperity, that there is not any wickednesse which beareth not its paine and repentance; that he who perpetrateth one, expects the opportunity of another, that whilst the worlds Theater lasteth, Fortune thereon will play her Tragedies, and will make it appeare, she flatters those she meanes to stifle.

*FINIS.*

# OBSERVATIONS upon the fall of SEIANVS.

Written in Italian by *Gio.  
Baptista Manzini.*

And  
Translated into English  
BY  
*S<sup>r</sup>. T. H.*

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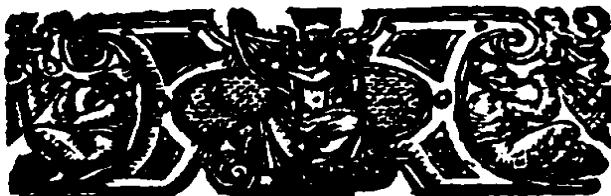
*Second Edition.*

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JUVENAL.  
*Descendit statua, restemq<sup>ue</sup> sequuntur.*

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LONDON,  
Printed by Thomas Harper,  
1639.



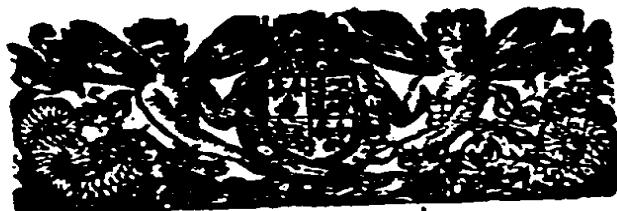
## THE AVTHOR to the Reader;



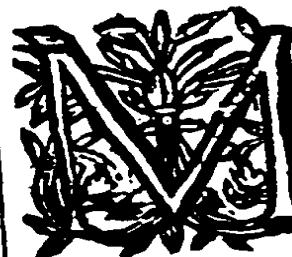
The two first  
Bookes of the  
Life of Sejanus, distingui-  
shed into three,  
were casually taken from mee ;  
as if Fortune likewise persecu-  
ting him on paper, would not  
suffer any memory of him to  
survive, but ruine. I could have  
gathered them together againe,  
had I not feard somemight have  
imagined me ambitious to stand  
in competition with him, who

## To the Reader.

already bath laboured on the same life. There live many Gentlemen in Florence, who saw mine, before that other passed the Mountaines. Notwith-  
standing I have not proceeded in this undertaking, as well because the worke was then the birth of too greene an age in me, as for that I supposed this sole remainder (the picture of a per-  
fect Courtier) figured in the fall of this Vnhappy Man, might suffice to entertaine thee with contentment. I leave thee Rea-  
der to thy freedome, but preju-  
dicate not what my heart con-  
ceives of Fortune, for no sooner  
shall you have led your eyes a-  
long to the ende of this Booke,  
but will confesse, that of this dis-  
ease of the world, my opinion  
hath beeene very sound.



## OBSERVATIONS upon the fall of S E N N U S.



Or cannot a man receive , nor more Fortune give. If she rai-  
sed not Sejanus to Regality, it  
was because she thought it a lesse  
matter to afford a head for Em-  
pire, than to resigne the head of  
Empire as a prey to one who  
would tyrannize over it. Here  
either weary, or repentant, she  
began to forsake Sejanus. Health,  
Wit, Riches, Incense, and Scep-  
ters,

ters, were gifts to have impov-  
erished the giver her selfe, had  
she not even whilst she gave  
them, with a covetous hand,  
snatched them back again.

He born at *Volscinum*, (at that  
time a rich Towne of *Tuscany*,  
which was afterward consumed  
by lightning, heaven alwayes  
ayming to thunder-strike, where  
any pretend above humane con-  
dition) was advanced by Fortune  
to Courts, offices, dignities, trust  
of a Prince, supereminency over  
all, and lastly to Altars and In-  
cense. He had derogated from  
the condition of man, and not  
been tyrannized, but the tyrant  
of Fate, if he had with equality  
of fortune concluded the begin-  
ning of so ample fortunes. Earth-  
ly felicities ate not unlike the E-  
phimera, they dye the same day  
they are born.

Many yeares are required to  
give growth and height to a  
great tree, and a short time suf-  
ficeth

ficeth to cut it downe. Let *Jipi-*  
*ter* boast his thunder bolts, *Inno-*  
*her* serenes, *Thetis* her calmes,  
but Fortune in her kingdome  
hath things more unstable than  
any of these. The politick threads  
spunne by *Sejanus*, to weave the  
royall purple to himselfe at this  
time, are sooner practised than  
numbred. The tragicall story of  
his end, (become the fable of the  
multitude) shall now be rehear-  
sed, rather for example than de-  
light. *Sejanus* is unworthy of  
compassion, because unjust, but  
he notwithstanding is to be loo-  
ked on with an eye of pitie, by  
such as penetrate the misery of  
humane condition, which hath  
nothing certaine, but the uncer-  
tainty of it selfe, and for amplest  
matter of its losse, the greatest  
heape of its gaines.

He riseth to purchase either  
precipices or thunders from hea-  
ven, who without sure founda-  
tion of merit, endeoureth to  
raise

raise himself to that height of fortune which is to be aimed at by sole vertue, and supported by the onely power of that heaven, which hath reserved to it selfe the authority of giving and taking away kingdomes.

Heaven threatned the sinister events of *Sejanus*, with sinister predictions, willing thereby (as it were) either to sound a retreat to Fortune, or rather to advise *Sejanus* how little he should confide in these our fraile felicities. Ravens croaking, Cats enraged, the Bench whereon the Court-waiters sare thrown down, servitors by misfortune precipitated from the Caudine staires, were horrid prodiges, and Portentous presages of future calamities. Yet was there none, who on these things durst make any evill construction, because the present state considered, it was no easie matter to beleive an e-quall mutation might be made.

*Sejanus*

*Sejanus* was greater than his betters, lesse onely than his owne thoughts, and the world conceiued that Fortune could doe nothing more in him, or that there was no other Fortune but *Sejanus* himselfe. *Dion* writeth, that such were the foundations of this mans greateesse, that had God himselfe foretold his ruine, he would scarcely have been beleived.

The Citizens so infinitely honoured, reverēced, feared, adored the name of *Sejanus*, that *Tiberius*, whose eyes imminent perill had unvailed, began to be jealous of himselfe, as well as of his Kingdome. The name of that subject is ever perillous to a Prince, who is more often named than himselfe.

To ruine so vast a frame in an instant, was to stand in danger to be oppressed: to suffer the increase therent, was to oppresse ones selfe. Behold to what condition

dition this unfortunate Prince is brought, who forgetting what he himselfe is, wholly resignes himselfe to the trust of one man, who being raised to greatnessse, (the precipice of the greatest) hath no other fidelity, but that wherewith he is trusted.

Among the people he saw himselfe despised, but which is more, he knew himselfe despicable, as he who too basely had suffered all his functions to be possessed by *Sejanus*, equally favoured and suspected. He began to feare the losse of that authority, which (as the soule) guideth, and governeth all, and which as a huge pile eminent above the rest, falleth not, but to ruine the Kingdome.

Combated by a thousand thoughts, nay mastered by unspeakable feare, it behoved him rather to endevour the meanes how to recover his Empire, then preserve it. He was not ignorant that

that *Sejanus* ascribed the Empire to himselfe, the governement of Caprea to *Tiberius*. Behold how Fortune had hood-winked this miserable man, teaching him to dally with death. *Tiberius* knew it was neither time to sleep, nor runne. Great remedies were needfull in so pregnant suspitions; dissimulation was necessary with a man so powerfull, but first he must seeke for safety, then revenge: *Most times the true remedy of treachery, is, to seeme not to know it.*

To understand the minde of the one and other, *Cesar* began with strange art to ply both *Sejanus* & the Senate with Letters, in one day varying a thousand things concerning himself: sometimes by declaring to him he had nothing now alive in him but infirmity, he confessed an impotency, which secured *Sejanus* to lay more lively colours upon his designes: and straight with his owne

own hand certifying the Senate of his health recovered, made them sacrifice, despite to modesty. By which meanes the one had a large field to negotiate, the other to feare. One while he pralised *Sejanus* in his letters, and yet sometime writing backe he blamed him, magnified other of his favourites, and depressed others: To conclude, the whole Court depended on the uncertainty of his practises, which had nothing regall in them, but doublenesse.

*Sejanus* was sometime suddenly puffed up with fresh favours, and as suddenly stupisid with these unaccustomed proceedings. Conscience assailed him with suspition: The memory of predictions surcharged his foule with impressions of horror. It fell not into his thought to feare, beholding himselfe so powersfull, yet darcd he as little to confide in his own power, hearing such no- velties.

Con-

Conscience (the scourge of the wicked) permitted not he should know that houre to be come, wherein he must either conquer or dye. He with all his might vapoured forth the smoke of his greatness. He knew his practises were not unknown to *Tiberius*, he was therefore to attempt the issue with violence, not expected, though doubted: For great actions should rather be speedily executed, than consulted on. Death was the head of the way, flye it he could not, well might he ennable it. It was therefore better to meet it than expect it, sell it than suffer it. Who knew, whether Fortune would not (as heretofore) favour sudden Counsels.

He must seale the conclusion with an act, if not eminent for vertue, yet memorable for hardinesse, *Dangars many times by encountring them, are avoided. Good Counsels from delay, wicked from violence*

violence take force. But who understandeth not, that heaven corrupteth the counsels of him, to whom the revolution of Fortune is destined.

In the meane time the multitude (amongst which nothing is more easie than change of affectiōns) perceiving in so short a time, so great alteration of affaires, began to waver.

They failed not to spread rumours of innovation into the eares of the people, to whom the power of *Sejanus* was either hatefull or suspected. Each motion serveth for reason to just feare; with long expectation every occasion findes favour.

Offences heretofore tolerated, or dissembled, began to be unmasked. Woe to him who hath fulfilled his felicity. There wanted not those who attributed to *Sejanus* the blame of all *Tiberius*'s exorbitances, compassionately deploring the memory of

*Caius*

*Caius Silius*, of *Titus Sabinus*, and *Cremutius Cordus*, unjustly deprived of life.

He that governeth another, walketh on a rope, which though made of golden threads, is not the more stable, not understanding how well to use the counterpoise of justice; If he put one foot out of the right place, the ordinary successe is to remaine hanged.

Many, not to contradict, rather than not to be silent, added probability to truth. Others hoping change of fortune, with alteration of government, seconded the beginning of his ruine, whom themselves acknowledgēd for their raiser.

It is very likely he could not have been advanced, without an infinite number of men obliged by his benefits, and yet amongst so many publicke invectives, there was not any one that defended him! But what! Small benefits

nefits are easily forgotten; great, ordinarily surcharge. Some cannot require a good turne, other know not how. Of the ungrateful, some neglect it, other abhor it. Nay the world is come to that passe, that good turnes are thought dangerous. The ungrateful man, loth to repay a benefit, would not there likewise should be any, to whom he may account himselfe a debtor. Thus happened it to poor *Sejanus*. The end of the obligation, and of the obligor was esteemed an advantagious exchange. Good, as evil equally concurreth to the oppression of that unhappy man, who once begins to be daffted.

All the motions of *Sejanus* breathed forth sadness. He who heretofore haughty and proud, accustomed arrogantly to vaunt supereminency, now wholly mortified, shewed how much he was burdened with weighty cares. His eyes, reconcentred with

with his imaginations, manifested in their wannesse what anxieties tormented him. At which time oppressed with griefe, or through distraction of thoughts, not rendering salutes, he seemed to despise those who saluted him, so that his proper hurts unhappily conspiring with fortune, he increased the number of the malevolent, and lessened the troopes of partiall followers.

*Tiberius* thus judiciously spinning the web, honoured both *Sejanus* and his sonne with the dignity of Priesthood, as it were advising him to stand prepared to sacrifice a victim to Fortune. To these honours he added the Proconsular dignity, rather to augment doubt in the people, than titles for *Sejanus*; yet much would he have promised himself by his dexterous wit and Genius, if he could have found meanes to present himself before *Cesar*, whereupon under pre-

pretext to visite a beloved feminine singer of his, afflicted with a certaine infirmitie, having sought to come to Caprea, hee was suspended by Tiberius, who would not admit his presence, more for feare of his force, than that he refused the shortest and safest way to give an end to such dangers, affording accessse for once, to bereave him of it for ever. So, many times it is better to tolerate by dissembling, than precipitate those counsels, which by delay are not wasted, but fortifi-  
ed. In infirmitie, there is not any thing more mortall, than unseasonable medicines.

His eyes were darkned with horror, and mind with terror, seeing upon one side the occasions of bounty taken away, on the other side, those to whom he had beeene bounteous, now to pay him with ingratitude. The errors committed in prosperous fortune, threatned him with ad-

adverie. Those that adhered to him, told him many things vari-ously related from the people, but almost ever against him: Whereupon astonished hee lost courage: But hope, which ne-ver failes whilst life lasteth, com-forted him; that these fears were rather objects of conscience, than incentives of prudence. Tiberius by him unburdened from the greater coyles of Empire, secu-red from his greatest enemies, entertained and nouisled in his chieftest delights: Tiberius, who found no quiet, but in the bosome of his vigilance, would not looone ( said she ) precipitate him, whom he so much had heretofore professed to affect. The number of allies, of obliged friends, affectionate souldiers, people, who ( as yet ) adored him, ministred rather matter to lessen sorrow, than feare.

This verily was the beginning of the knowledge and apprehen-sion

sion that *Sejanus* had of the instability of those things, which are subject to Fortune. Here began he discoursing with himselfe, to derive consequence from seeing, that *Tiberius* hitherto an impenetrable hider of his thoughts, honoured *Cajus* with Priestly dignity, and praised him as one who should succeed him. Hete desperation beganne wholly to tyrannize over those reatons, which in the mind of *Sejanus* were fed by that most tormenting desire of rule. The certainty of the succession of a Prince, is the oppression of his hopes, who pretendeth to principalitie.

Here, as *Sejanus* openly lost courage, so Fortune partiall to animosity, began manifestly to persecute him. A powerfull enemy of his (Prefect of Spaine) was freed from the heavy blame of exorbitant offences, whether they were reall, or objected by *Sejanus*. The exaltation of en-

mies,

mies, is the beginning of proper depression. One scale of the ballance goes not up, but the other sinkes downe. *Tiberius* wrote of the death of *Nero* to the Senate, and naming *Sejanus*, did it without usuall attributes. He forbade that any one should hereafter dare to sacrifice to a man. *Poore* is the God-head, wheratho *Desprests* upon an edit.

By these wayes *Tiberius* lessened the reputatiō of the Favorite with the people, which useth to bee the first and most grounded foundation of greatnessse. The troupe of attendants to wait on him from his house, was not so frequent, because some, not to be suspected by *Tiberius*, (whose fly practises were now dilecovered) certified *Sejanus* of their leaving him, rather jealous of their owne good, than of anothers. The smokes, as well of sacrifices on Altars, as of Pride and Ambition in the head

head of Sejanus, beganne to decline.

His favorites were no longer honoured, and were they, it was rather in respect of dignity than person. Injustice dispoiled of the mantle of his authority, walked no longer thorow Rome, for Fortune having put gaives upon it, it could not freely stirre up and down without danger. To these turmoyles, so much the more weighty as they were new, croſſe omens of predictions were added. From a ſtatue of Sejanus ſmoking, the head taken off, to discover the caufe of it, a great Serpent was ſene ſuddenly to issue forth, and the head ſet on againe, there was a knot found about the neck of it. A while after hee ſacrificing to a ſtatue of Fortune, ſhee eyther not to ſee him, or because ſhe could not endure him, turned her head away, ſhewing this wretched Courteſer how little he ſhould confide

in the vanity of that Fortune, which knowes not how to bee ſtable, even in marble.

Among ſuch hatefull prodigies, a thouſand torments vexed the ſoule of unhappy Sejanus. Vaine, and fruſtrate was now the thought of commotion, bee understanding the aversion of the people from his affaires, and knowing the Senates love towarde Cæſars. Great attempts are achieved in the increafe, not diminution of fortune. We muſt not hope for ſtabilitie from this inconstant Lady, whose favours are alwaies ſo ſuſtaining the more pernicious, by how much the more they render us ſecure and confident. He watched whole nights with his pains, which could ſhew him nougħt elſe but Chymers: He knew no other reſole, but that alone, which the want of it in the boſome of toyleſome wearineſſe begat. The morning ayre that awakened him

were his sighs, which invited him to toyle. He thought every day the last, every last would have been deare to him, so it were not delayed; *For much more painefull is the feare of death than to dye.* (*Poore Sejanus*) the heap of so many crimes never came to deserve, that the punishment should so long be deferred.

A generous affection (understanding it was necessary either to vanquish evils, or end them) awakened in his soule a purpos to withdraw himselfe from danger by death: to tell the world, Fortune had been able to exalt, not depress him. But the blinde warrioresse, who would not reave her selfe of the glory to have ruined him, in such his sad agonies, courted him with news, that *Tiberius* spake of conferring the Tribunitial power upon him, whereupon afflicting and comforting him at one and the same instant, she armed him with hope,

hope, peradventure, because it shold not be thought a small glory to her to have cast down a vanquished man, and overcome one who begged mercy. *Tiberius* nothing ignorant of publicke affection, and private suspition, began (not despairing) to have the people and Senate on his part, to mannage the conclusion of this affaire, which carried in it selfe as much necessity, as perill. His designe was to levell the most grounded Fortress of the Empire, and to pluck up the best rooted Plant the Earth hath nourished. The pretorian Cohorts honoured, preferred, united, countenanced, fortified, by him, depended all on his least commands. The greatest men, who governed in the Empire, as Prefects, Questors, Tribunes, Captaines, and infinite other officers, all raised by him, owed their service and estate to him. The most inward and nearest servants of

*Tiberius* had been by his meanes deputed to that service, and intimacy. The principall of the Nobility, enriched with the best places, either as his servants or Allyes, were tyed to him. Of the multitude some were maintained in his house, some were dependant, some interessed, so that many respectively, and almost all by adherence waited on him. Well might his ruine be commanded by *Tiberius*, but not expected. Princes are the heart, Subjects the hands. To confide was dangerous, yet necessary. Strangers were nothing fit for so great an affaire, which required much knowledge of the fact, and persons. Familiars were to be suspected, as well for the reasons mentioned before, as for that the best and most trusted servants, are those who sooneit sell their master. Few were not sufficient for so great a businesse, in many secrecy was unsafe. To do

dit in Rome where *Sejanus* had the pulse of his power, was to subject himselfe to sudden commotion of people, which is in prudence, so much to be avoyded. To doe it out of Rome was impossible, or most difficult. If he should call him to Caprex he would not come, but upon sure conditions, bringing along with him more perill for others, than for himselfe. Every thing was dangerous, and laying private interest aside, no other affection would have advised it. In the end *Tiberius* excited, put forward, and enraged, peradventure more by *Sejanus* his unhappynesse, than out of his own willedome, callid *Nervius Sertorius Macro*, and secretly constituting him Captain of his Guard, he gave him the mannage of the whole matter, advising him what he was to doubt, what to avoid, what to accelerate, or ponder. He commanded him to conferre with

with *Mennius Regulus*, whose fidelity was free from suspicion, he being an ancient rivall of *Sejanus*, and shewed him the necessity of secrecy with the other Consull, as being one of his enemies faction. Then, that he shold ensnare; and assault: minds with a thousand sorts of hopes, and feares, awaking the anger of the offended, the hatred of the reconciled; that he should fight with gold, promise dignities, remove souldiers, secure the army from tumults, and finally the matter not succeeding well, at the first stirres which should oppose their designes, he should introduce *Drusus* into the Senate for Emperour, by him so declared and pronounced.

*Macro* departing with these instructions, *Tiberius*, to whom amongst so many vices pusillanimity was not wanting; not trusting to the number of his people, to the scituuation, and straight-

nesse of that Iland, easie to be defended for a first assault by the souldiers of his guard, nothing maintaining the majesty of his place, but having prepared many ships, timerously stood expecting opportunity of escape from the first notice, that *Sejanus* foreknowing his designes might not prevent and oppresse him. *A bad Conscience is the Mother of Fear. Fear is the Father of those ignoble acts, whose indignity is the Tombe of Reputation.*

These were the afflictions of *Tiberius*, the perils of *Sejanus*, the endeavours of *Macro*, who with *Tiberius* his letters entring full of cares by night into Rome, began the designed practise with *Mennius Regulus*, and *Gracilis Laco*.

The next day the morning being come, to shew the last Sun to *Sejanus*; whilst the Senate sat in the Temple of *Apollo*, *Macro* entring into the Palace met *Sejanus*,

*Sejanus*, whose soul, (which felt the stroke of Fate at hand) sad, that *Tiberius* had not written to him, prelaged evill events. He was comforted by *Macro's* whispering in his ear, that he had brought him the Tribunitiall dignity; whereat joyfull, he entered into the Senate house, by his friends (amongst whom this word quickly ran)honoured, reverenced, saluted, as much as by the malevolent he was feared, and flattered.

Behold how poore mortals are taken in a snare by Fortune; unhappy he, who trusteth her; but more unhappy, who to her commits those treasures that are enriched with nought else, but others wants. *Sejanus*, could neither enter, nor be received into the Senate with greater applause. Suspicions, doubts passed, were ridiculous entertainmēts of present alacrity, as if it were tyed to humane Condition, that

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a little sweet should be repayed with much acerbity.

Those enemies who most hated him, doubtful lest they might be discovered, treated amongst themselves, with a soft murmur, (but which they notwithstanding desired might be heard) to conferre some new honour upon him, cloaking their malignity, with seeming courteous; secretly negotiating it, as if they did it not for ostentation; but love. So, many times dissimulation useth to walke shmeafast, and reserved; not to hide her selfe, but that the novelty of habit may be of force to turne the eyes of such as are present, upon her.

*Macro* having published the authority received from *Tiberius*, removed from about the Senate and *Sejanus*, those prætorian soldiers which were for a guard, and shewing certain letters, in which *Tiberius* expressed he would reward them, leaving

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here

*Observations*

here a good number of souldiers of Cesār's guard faithfull by ancient service, and encouraged with greater hopes, he led the Praetorians to their stations, that no innovation might be made. In the meane time *Tiberius* his letter was read, brought by him to the Senate, which verily was long, as being stuffed with a thousand cunning policies. In the beginning it contained diversy of affaires, afterward with a short complaint of *Sejanus* as if with a slight inquisition, he would prepare mindes to greater matters. Then passing to other affaires, he in a while returned to complaine of him and commanding that two Senators, the most intimate with *Sejanus*, should be punished, ordained in the manner of an entreaty, grounded and necessitated upon luspitions, and State-rules, that *Sejanus* himself should be under custody. Requiring that one of the Consuls

should

*upon the fall of Sejanus.*

should be assigned to wait on himself, that he might come to *Rome* in safety.

Let him measure and argue upon the endevour of this letter, who from the things said before, understandeth the suspition of *Tiberius*. Let that poor Courtier penetrate the sudden effect of it, who knoweth how headlong Fortune is to throw one down from greatnessse. *The descent from a height, bath no lesser steps then a leap. Most times no distinction may be made betweene the supremest, and lowest fortune.* It is impossible that the 'pen should abstaine from flattering the eyes, whilst it bewails humane infelicity on these papers. No sooner was the Letter read, but those Senators hastily rose up, who most faithfull, most desire fate about *Sejanus*, detesting him, whom hitherto they had soothed, served, and adored. When Fortune departs, she carries friends

friends away with her. They, who once were of his faction, strove to be the first to forlack him, boasting to be the formost in seconding the will of Cæsar. Out alas, that friends flye the place, where they are tryed. Profit and delight are those interests, which gaine love: Friendship is that sonne, which is alwaies buried with his Father. By that which his dearest friends did, may be argued what his enemies endevoured. They emulously rose up to accuse, calumniate, reproach him, and all the exorbitant excesses, not onely of *Tiberius*, but of the most abject creatures (unknown to *Sejanus*) were ascribed to him. There was not any, who was silent in his cause, and if there were, it was either to give time, that the multitude of accusations might not be lost, or to recommend themselves to the goddesse *Memory*, to suggest them new causes

ses of complaints. The Pretors, and Tribunes encompassed him round about, doubtfull, lest he might get out to stir the people to commotion: A wary diligence, but needless, because feare (the sergeant that waits on conscience) had before any other tyed up his senses in such knots of dejection, that I suppose lesser were not necessary to hold a proud soule from abandoning manhood in so sudden a change.

Who will vaunt himselfe of those greatnesses, which as they may be acquired, may consequently be lost? *Regulus*, and *Laco* dragged him as guilty out of the Senate, at whose feet justice, and fortune had so long lyen prostrate. The people, lovers of novelties, ran together crying out aloud, and cursing *Sejanus*, to whose house (calling him the companion of *Cesar*) they but halfe an houre before hastned to wait on him.

The souldiers, who heretofore used to glory in his service, boasted themselves and grew proud at his captivity. They who before had adored him for a god, and honoured him as a Priest, haled him as a victim to sacrifice. And so grievous, and certain was the ignominy imminent over the present peril, that it was rashnesse to envy one of those Oxen, which were sacrificed to him in the former flourish of Fortune. Oh how little is the affection of the people to be trusted, who so easily adore and murther men that they cannot learne to pardon their own gods, nor reverenced for the power of their thunderbolts: but made, and deified by their proper hands.

The name of the unfortunate Sejanus, was not onely the sport of fortune, but of the people likewise: the soules by him deprived the benefit of this precious light ranne up and downe, with a thousand

thousand whippes to excite, and enrage as well his own Conscience, as the multitude, against him. Every one agreed to mocke him for those his elevated thoughts, which were to sink at the foot of the Gemonian stayrs. His statues were the Center of Speares and Swords. Let not the Load-stone boast to attract Iron with greater force, then did the marbles inscribed with the name of Sejanus.

This is that memorable day, wherein the impious barbarisme of the people taught him to dye, who had never lived. Brazen models were no longer melted with fire, but with wounds, for in the forge of Rome no other fewell burnt, but of indignation, nor any other bellowes were blown, but of Anger.

For no other cause had fortune raised so many statues to him, but to multiply an infinity of Sejanusses which should at this instant

instant be the miserable prey of a thousand torments, as though Sejanus were not capable enough of so many punishments, who only sufficed to commit so many crimes. There was not any one who sought not to get some relike of him, to preserve it as the miracle of Fortune.

Exorbitancies of cruelty reflecting from the eye to the minde, afflicted the poore Sejanus; his soule oppressed with so intupportable accidents, languished, for the griefe of dying, yet would death have been the last of all evils, had it not drawn along with it so much ignominy. For finally to goe out of life is necessary, but to be driven from it is shamefull.

What may we beleive, was the passage of this unhappy man from the Senate to the prilon? He endeavoured to cover his head, to defend himselfe, I know not whether from shame or injury,

injury, but as he could not hide himselfe from his own conscience, so they discovered him to the eyes of others. Fortune scorned to triumph over a man malcked, and heaven thought it not a punishment equall for demerit, to hood-wink him from those who had bin spectators of his crimes, and were the remainders of his fury.

They all cryed out, stormed, and exclaimed to have him killed; that he should be precipitated, who was the death and ruine of the Empire. The weakest cowards learnt courage, from the example of the strongest, the strongest envied the horrour of the weakest, finding themselves unable to maintaine that fury, which stirred them up to revenge. The brest of Sejanus would have been the sepulcher of a thousand swords, nor would the soaldiers who environed him have sufficed to prescrve him, had

had it not beeene for Fortune, who was desirous also to enjoy this last delight, to see a Hangman envied by a hundred Senators; every step was a death, every death was so much the more grievous, as it had the more of life. The passage of dying is a moment; and that which is dispatched in a moment, is no great evill, but this was so much the greater an evill, by how much the more they delayd him that death, which might take him from the ignominy which the eyes saw, and from the torments which Ienie feared.

Being come to the prison, either the frozen heart denied passage to the soule, or else the soule oppressed with so many objects, of stupifying paine, found not out the way to liberty; otherwise, if we thinke how little experienced he was of sinister fortune, or if we weigh the sorrow of losse, by the value, by the horr-

ror of death, and by the feare of conscience, it had beeene impossible he should have lived a moment.

Let him not compassionate the misery of this wretched Courtier, who is not expos'd to mistortune: And who knoweth not, that the most wretched manner of unhappinesse, is, to have once beeene happy. If he deserve not pitty as *Sejanus*, he deserves it as a man become miserable. Every occasion should serve the just man to exercise his vertue. Courtesy, benefits, and clemency, are the three meanes wherewith bee who governeth, ought to oblige the minds and affection of the people, without which, Empire is nought else but a perilous servitude. It is true; that discretion ought to bee the distributresse of theire treasures; That overmuch curiositie begets contempt; That benefits rather scattered, than well placed oblige

ligenot, and indulgence not limited is a security in sinning, it being ordinarily the condition of men not to know how to bear all slavery, nor all liberty. The neglect of these bounds, not knowne or not observed, afflicted the poore *Sejanus* the infelicity of whole policy had found more greatness, than safty. *Never was that power either stable, or lasting, which was gained by wickednesse,*

An Idæa cannot be framed in the minde of any mortall man of a more exact stater-man, then that, which then in a Chymæra presented it selfe to the minde of *Sejanus*, made wile by the unhappinesse of his own fortune. He abhorred his former pride; it vexed him he had set himselfe as the scope of Envy. The Ostentation of *Tiberius* his favour, the violence of emulators, his having arrogated to himselfe Empire over that world that now refused

to

to support him, were such punishments as they were not only preambles, but lively touches of the Torments of hell, affording no space either for hope or amendment. Now ( although late) he saw how dangerous it was to play with the Lion, who concludeth his dalliances with his pawes. Affections so long felt, or to say better, suffered, made themselves understood to belyers. They a little before had the face of hopes, and now were knowne to bee dotages. But what knew he not? Unhappinesse taught the miserable man, that, which prudence hath written in her Bookes; not at this time to make him cautious, but rather so much the more sad. From matters whence felicity drawes good, misery derives evill, nor can a greater mischiefe afflict a miserable man, than to be reduced to that point, that even prudence it selfe concurreth

reduces to render him unhappy.

In the meane space the Senate seeing none of the innovations, then feared either from the soldiers, who with hopes had been brought by *Marcus* to the Legions, or from the people that followed his milery, to whose Fortune they had tyed themselves by an inviolable oath, assembling together in the Temple of Concord, that they might not be reduced to such straights, as to desire that which now the people expected from them, they condemned the miserable *Sejanus* to punishment.

A poore condition of Man, Beares, and Lions are fed for Gladiators, and men are fathed for the siche of death. *Tiberius*, durst not command the death of *Sejanus*, and his servants durst execute it. The people stormed at retardation, finding more punishment in delay, then the de-

linquent was to feele in the execution, Every thing submiss and Fortune, which no man one-braceth man, but hee brangleth him.

One sole flower sufficed to accuse, arraigne, condemn, and execute a monarch so much greater than others, by how much they had commanded over an Empire, hee over the Emperor.

Among so many his allies, friends, soldiers, followers, dependents, ministers, there was not one stirred a foote for him, nay, there was not one who stirred not against him. Every one runnes for wood to the tree, which the wind or hatchet hath layd along. At this time there could be no greater offence, nor perill, then fidelity; Hee was a true servant, who most speedily hastned the death of his Master, to free him from thole miseries, which were not to moove mercy

cy in any other Deity than  
death.

Concord was ashamed so hee  
at odds with Fortune, and sent  
her, her owne Temple to bee a  
Theater, where the Sentence of  
this mans death should be pon-  
ounced, and consequently the  
monitory of humane infelicity.  
Betweene the condemnation, &  
execution, nothing interposed,  
but the distance, which was be-  
twixt the prison, & those staires,  
from whence the condemned  
must dismount in a leape, from  
supremest exaltation, to the low-  
est misery. He was taken from  
prison with such fury, that wee  
may rather say he flew thence.  
They dragged him to the precipice,  
and threw him headlong  
from the top. Let him imagine  
the manner, who hath the heart  
to think of it. No injury, or pos-  
sible cruelty was omitted to bee  
used, nay rather, that was made  
possible, which was not; for to

see

see the allye, the obliged, the ser-  
vant, the friend to leade trium-  
phantely to death, his greater, his  
benefactor, his Lord, is a specta-  
cle more true than likely. They  
that were nearest were ambiti-  
ous to have the opportunity to  
abuse him, the most distant fol-  
lowed him, sorry they could not  
have a hand in this action. Some  
cursed him, some upbraided him  
with his acts, and both the one  
and the other shewed him his  
punishment, to increase the sor-  
row with the terror, and aug-  
ment the manner, although not  
the numbers of his death. Oh  
people, alike cruell in punish-  
ing, and in having so long defer-  
red the chastisement.

Behold to what this man is  
reduced, whose favour men no  
longer desired, to whom Starres  
afforded no gratiouse influences,  
nor Fortune gave blessings. That  
man, with whose revenges hell  
was increased, and to whose sta-

X

tues

## Observations

tues the gods envied the best sacrifices. Oh how much more secure is the poverty of *Irus*, than the riches of *Cressus*. That Engine, which more than other is raised toward Heaven, more than the rest approacheth thunders. Let him avoid the assent, who feares the precipice. He that will enjoy the Court, let him not pretend to greatness with a Prince. He, who would know what greatness with a Prince is, let him make his last Will, for it is nougnt else but sudden ruine.

There are Aphorismes subscribed by a caytive, whose body could never find repose, nor so much as in the boosome of death. The earth denied buriall to the corps of him who had filled so many Sepulchers with his cruelty. Friends defrauded it of that sepulture, to which for the sakes of the living, rather than of the dead, enemies themselves used to be courtois. Poore *Sejanus*, for an eternall refuge, found no

## upon the fall of Sejanus.

two yards of that land, whose vast Continent he had both commanded and governed.

Scarcely arrived he to the end of the last leape, rent, torne, and dismembred, when the people for three whole dayes dragged him thorowout *Rome*, bathing the stones with his bloud, who had stained them with the bloud of poore Citizens. After this, they on the fourth day threw him into the River, either that he should not returne to infect *Rome*, or that *Tiber* might beginne to be more fertile in monsters than the Sea. Behold the continued course of Fate, water was ever the Sepulchet of *Icarus's* and *Phaetons*.

Fortune permitted not it should come into the peoples minds, to waste the remainders of this miserable carcasse with fire, because having exposed it to the cruelty of men, shee would likewise reserve it to the shames

of nature, to exercise its corruptions upon him. He, who had beeene fed with the bloud and wealth of poore Citizens, was reserved to feed fishes in the wa-  
ter, wormes in the earth, and birds in the ayre. Oh never e-  
nough adored divine Provi-  
dence !

The funerals celebrated for  
this unhappy creature, ought ra-  
ther to bee abreviated, than en-  
larged ; for writing them, there  
is not any one wil believe the, &  
to credit them is hardly in man,  
for the impiety thereof surpassed  
the inhumanity of man.

The Orators were curses and  
reproches. The sacrificers, cruel-  
ty and fury. The children and  
friends of Sejanus were the vi-  
ctims. The houses of the dead  
were purged from crimes with  
fire ; the fires were quenched  
with the bloud of his faction.  
The diversity of times made it  
equally dangerous to have offend-

ded, and to have loved Sejanus.  
There is not any sacrifice of a  
worse condition, then that of envy.

Mercy appeared not in the Pal-  
lace that day, for innocence was  
a crime, and he was not without  
crime, who became not an ene-  
my to Sejanus. Behold how un-  
sound is the friendship of an un-  
just Favourite.

There burnt nothing of pity  
to the soule of that unhappy man  
but some fire of revenge, since,  
under the title of Sejanus his  
friends, private enemies were  
pursued. In popular commotion, it  
is always the surest way to retire.  
The Praetorian souldiers mur-  
ned, that the night-guards were  
preferred before them in matter  
of fidelity. Many Citizens were  
accused and condemned for his  
friendship, some of which (Mar-  
cus Terentius excepted, whom  
Courage, Justice, and Fortune  
assisted) unfortunately stood up-  
on their defence, which nought  
availed

*Observations*

availed them, unlesse it were to give time, that the other Complices might be thrown headlong from the Capitoll; and because one kinde of death could not serve so great a number of proscribed, many slew themselves.

*Tiberius* not confiscating the goods of him who prevented the Hangman (to avoid the imputation of cruelty, which others executed) barbarously enforced men, who were desirous to leave rich heires, to kill themselves.

Behold death reduced to be the utmost, not of things terrible, but of mens goods: wherein so much was gained in an instant, as was possessed through the whole course of life. See how true it is, that among mortall things there is not any more fading, than that power which hath not support from it selfe. Thus was the whole day spent in wickednesse, the last of which was the generall joy that was made. This was a day dedicated to cruelty, in which the

miserable Sejanus saw, nay felt the setting of his greatness, to be the chastisement of his crimes.

Vnhappy he who confides in his own greatness. Poore is that power which rests in the brest of one man. Unfortunate is that man who dependeth on another. Let the Courtier learne true politick arts, from the Hitory of this wretched forlorn creature. Happy he, who studieth prudence on anothers books.

Let the Favourite of a Prince flye violence, as a thing which cannot continue. Let him flye Envy, against which none can long persist. Let him not raise his greatness on terror and cruelty, for they afford a great man more feare than power, more perill than safety. Let him rule with a flck hand, who would be loved, but yet with that temper, without which vertue concludes in vice. Terror and feare are too weake bands to

*Observations*

tye mindes; when once they are loose, who leave to feare thee, they will begin to hate thee. Fly ostentation, as the mother of Envy, as the daughter of Vanity. He who cannot within himselfe containe the favour of his Lord, shewes himselfe to be incapable, and consequently undeserving. Let him suffer himselfe to be honoured, as enforced, not as pretending it, ascribing honours to his office, not to his merit. Let him carry himselfe towards a Prince with reverence, and this is a flattery without vice. These are the Brokers of favour, because the common defect of great ones is pride, as those who measure themselves by their fortune, not by their merit. Let him esteem the favour of a Prince, as a thing which may be lost. Let him not run to honours, but expect them, not as one who seeks them, but deserves them; not as a necessary servant, but as a good. Of every thing

*upon the fall of Sejanus.*

thing that succeeds well with him, acknowledging none from proper prudence, let him ascribe all to the vertue, to the merit, to the fortune of the Prince. Let him not labour for vanity, but justice, for merit consisteth not in well dissembling, but well doing. Very ill can vice cloke it selfe with the habits of vertue, neither doth the Assē dance to the Harpe, nor the Lyons skinne teach us to rore.

Let him not abuse the favour of his Patron, which would be either to despise it, or not to know it. Let him acknowledge it, as a gift, not as a reward: so doing, other will endeavour to deserve it that they may obtaine it, and he will likewise deserve it, whilst he obtaines it. In the affaires of a Prince let him use diligence, solicitude, and counsell; in Counsels, sincerity, and secrecy. No lesse is secrecy necessary, than good counsell.

*Observations*

Let him not be perpetually by his Lords side for profit, and riches. With many to have heaped riches, hath not been the end but the change of evils. When the Prince hath given all, and the Favourite can desire no more, they quickly grow weary one of another. Let him rather beg modestly, than importunately. Let him rest satisfied with conveniency, and not pretend to over much; for he knowes not how to beginne to enjoy, who cannot tell where to make an end of having. Vomiting is the Physician of Repletion. Let the Favourite be content with what he may have, for when the Prince hath given all he hath, to take it backe againe, it is necessary he should resume that which he before gave, and because to resume is shamefull, many times he is taken out of his sight, who makes him ashamed.

Let *Papinian*. Let *Seneca* speake, for whom it was a thing impossible,

sible to avoid riches, because they showered upon them; It was not lawfull to refuse them, for they were the gifts of a Prince. What Felicity then is this, where he who hath it, feares, who would have it, is unsafe, and who would refuse it, cannot?

Let him professe himselfe to be lesse with his equals, To be courteous, and affable: for they who are such, have had of their enemies greater friends, than the other of their fellow Citizens. Sometimes let him participate the favours of his Lord with them, not as a man who gives them, but begs them. To goe about to give them, is a profession of superiority; a matter odious among equals: *Proud* favours reape contempt, and ingratitude instead of thanks. In the mannage of State-affaires, where secrecy is not enjoyed, let him communicate with them, as well to avoid the note of one who arogateth

*Observations*

teth all to his owne authority, as to erre, rather with the opinion of many, than by himselfe alone. *The successe of an affaire provideth protectors for him, who consulteth it with others.* To aske counsell, is to honour him of whom it is required, yet is not liberty taken away from a man to doe as he pleaileth. It is true, the quality of the person is to be obserued. *For to aske counsell of ones better, is to be tyed to performance.* In a busynesse whereon thou hast consulted, good successe will be thy glory, evill thy excuse, having followed the advice of others.

*Professe equality with inferiours, not of inanners, that it become not basenesse, but of pretensions.* In commands be discreet, for he who seldom or never commands, is always obeyed. Let the manner of commanding be by way of intreaty, for although his intreaty who hath authority

to

*upon the fall of Sejanus.*

to command containe violence, let him notwithstanding doe it, for he shall be obeyed with promptnesse, which he may make use of for good manners, not obligation. Let him be milde, that too much severity keep not inferiours so distant that he cannot afterward employ them in his need. Let him be liberall in words; *for the gifts of poor Princes are favours, which cost nothing.* Let him be free of his deeds, if he be able, for *a benefit is the father of a benefit, and love is a fortresse to defend greatnessse.*

Let him use a lenitive with detractors of his honour, and the malevolent to his person. Let his scope be the end of the ill will, not of the ill witter. Exercising power against him, no place will remaine to exercise vertue. *There is no enemy whom benefits will not guine.* Thou must have great hopes of his friendship, whose enmity hath found thee doing favours

favours. To kill a competitor in State affaires, is too full of danger. Suddenly the Prince beginneth to suspeet an excesse of imaginations in thy minde. Little can the head confide in him, who hath not born respect to its members. The people begin to feare, and hate thy greatness: and for that vertue borders neare upon vice, thy sollicitous care is judged interest, reverence, adulatian, and justice, severity: Besides, power grounded upon mischiefe, was never long. Let his affaires odious to the people, for there is no force against hatred, which can availe: If he cannot decline them, let him shew himself to be the servant, not the superiour, a diswader, not a counsellour. Let him be the first to stand exposed to hurt. Let him execute his office with charity, not predominancy. Let him give time, expect time, comfort, encourage, assist: for promptnesse over.

overcommeth every difficulty, and the glory will not be unworthy the danger.

Let him remember, that the life of great men is nought else but a perpetuall censure, and where censure is in continual use, greatness is not lasting.

Finally, let him be that within himselfe, which he would be accounted by other. Let him endeavour to be vertuous, for vertue is its own reward.

Every man can envy the prosperity of fortune: in vertue even fortune her selfe findes what to envy. This alone addes a straine of immortality to him, who is mortall. He is not happy on whom treasures shewre, but that man whose good rests in the minde. Well may fortune prick him, not wound him: strike him, not overthrow him. Adversity, losses, injuries, can doe that against vertue, which clouds may against the Sunne. It is true, that the  
Courtier

Courtier (being perfectly such) will come to be (as it were) no Courtier : for the Court is the receptacle of all fraud and vice, Let him therefore seeke to accomft the best what he may : for the vertuous man knowes how to tread the paths of vice with an upright foot, and verily honest men can, and understand how to live, even under bad Princes. There is no other meanes to overcome Fortune, but by sole vertue; and although the just man is not free from the effects, yet is he exempt from the occasions; For if he be afflicted, he is afflicted as a man, not as wicked, nay rather he is exercized, as vertuous. *Attales* the stoicke said, I rather choose Fortune should entertaine me in her toyles, than in her delights. I am tormented, but I beare it couragiouſly; I am killed, but I dye valiantly. This goeth well; unhappinesſe is the fire which purifieth this gold.

For.

Fortune trusteth no man more than him who despiseth her, none despise her but the vertuous, and although every fortune faile us, it is no meane fortune to be vertuous.

But what said I of Fortune? Man hath no other fortune but himselfe. Who is so ſimple as not to know it, who ſo wicked as to deny it.

That *Sejanus* was in one instant adored and precipitated; raised to eminent height, depreſſed to lowest abjectneſſe; environed by ſo many friends, besieged by ſo many enemies: not defended by any, persecuted by all, I confeſſe to be no ſmall matter, yea ſuch, that not injuriously men ſought to cover it with ſupernaturall power, conſtituting an imaginary Deity, to predomi- nate over these exorbitances of motion.

But what ſhould a Prince do, (speaking naturally) ſeeing himſelfe

selfe opprest, betrayed, entraped by a force, which takes all force from his favour; which instead of gratefully acknowledging him, seekes perfidiously to ruine him? If the chastisement of so great a disorder be committed to fortune, what assurednesse of strength defends him? If a great one deposes not a lesser, who offendshim, what is this greatness? And if this be not natural, to what purpose did nature put into us, that motion of anger towards revenge?

That friends in these calamities abandon the deposed, is no accidentall, but necessary. The preservation of the Individual, is the most principal amongst all the effects of nature. Who feeth not, that a private man following the adherence to a Rebell against Prince, of necessity is a companion of his crimes and fortune? He wrongs no man, who veruously maketh use of his Reason,

It is the naturall reason of every one who is borne, what he can to aid, preserve, and defend his owne life; and even thus much is granted, which sometimes bath happened, that to preserve it without any fault, men have beene killed; and this the lawes admit ( under the care of which is the preservation of each mortall ) how much more lawfull then is it, without offence to any for a good Courtier to abandon a friend, not friendship; and to retire from perill, not from love?

That in one and the sametime a thousand are discovered to be enemies, who have flattered thee, is no wonder; man being promptly disposed to arrive by what meanes soever to his own ends. The place, thou emptiest hath need to be replenished. That the subject flatters his Prince, is not against nature. That revenge expects occasion, is not un-

unusuall. They, who now are thy enemies, were never thy friends ; Virtue admits no change. That enemies offend thee, is no marvell, it were strange if they helpe thee. That *Sejanus* was precipitated from so exalted a Condition of felicity into so deepe a dungeon of misery, is not to be called an effect of fortune ; for if the caules (as wee saw before) be of nature, how can the effects be supernaturall ? Man is that silke worme, which hath woven a prison, and bands for it selfe, & when crimes come to incorrigible terms, they incur by divine permission those chastisements, which naturally follow bad beginnings. Who sees not, that ruine waiteth on him, who plaies over it. Every Autumn concludeth in Winter. Mirth endeth in teares. The soldier is reserved to the sword, the Marriner to the waves. It is not ascribed to Fortune, that a Butterfyl

terfly, bold to dally with the fire, at last is wasted in the flame, and is it to bee called an accident of fortune, that that man, who is not able to governe himselfe, fals oppressed under the weight of the government of a whole world, and that which is more considerable, of another mans world ? As if it were lesse naturall to returne backe, then to depart from, to descend than to climbe.

Fortunate is that Courtier, who to gaine the favour of his Lord, makes vertue the instrument. Happy he, who having obtained it, retires, that he may not lose it. The end attained, he who further pretendeth, provoketh misery. He committs himselfe to airy vanity, to gaine the certainty of a Center, who descendeth from a height, not expecting to be thrown headlong. The measure of the foot is more safe than of the eye. Favour is not

not inaccessible, but to preserve it is impossible, or difficult. The prize is gotten at the end, not at the beginning of the race. The end of good events, is the beginning of bad. He who trusteth to himself is rash, who confideth in the favour of another, is never by mad. The last day of servitude, is the first of liberty. Liberty in a generous and virtuous minde, is a pledge which assureth thee that such shall be thy fortune, as thou canst make it or desire it.

This is as much as I can say to thee ( O Courtier.) The favour of great men is an alluring Syren, which hath poyson on the tongue, and a sword in hand. Let Sejanus bee thy Master, not thy guide, for very fond is hee, who walketh on ruines, and remembers not hee may fall.

IV.

## I U V E N A L.

— *Qui nimios optabat ho-*  
*nores,*  
*Et nimias poscebat opes, numero-*  
*sa parabat*  
*Excelſe turris tabulata, unde al-*  
*tior effet*  
*Casus, & impulſe praeceps imma-*  
*ne ruina.*

F I N I S.

*Considerations  
upon the Life and Services  
of Monsieur  
VILLEROY.*

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Translated out of French  
BY  
S<sup>r</sup>. T. H.

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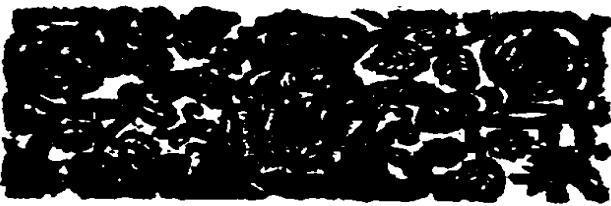
*Second Edition.*

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1639.

32 ; 02



## To the King.

SIR,

**B**ehold here the ru-  
ines of an excel-  
lent Fabricke ,  
whence goodly ,  
and rare pieces may be taken  
to beautifie new buildings.  
They are the wise observati-  
ons of the most ancient of  
your Counsellors of State,  
during his six and fifty years  
service in the greatest state-  
affaires of your Crowne:  
They who account it no lesse  
Yz      glory

glory to imitate merit, then  
to succeed to honours, will  
make use of his example, as  
of a Torch enkindled by  
Truth, the eldest daughter  
of light. If they follow him,  
and the blast of passion, or  
Interest make them not dis-  
solve, or slip aside, your Ma-  
jesties good intentions may  
be seconded with happy  
counsels, and your desires  
with great and glorious ef-  
fects.

P. Mathieu.



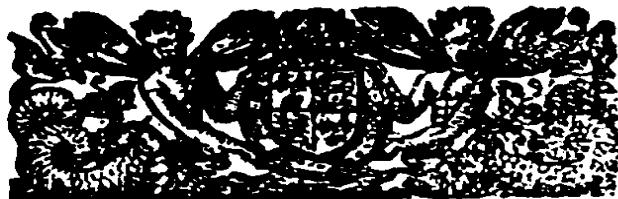
## Advertisements.



E who affords  
not honour to  
Monsieur Vil-  
leroy, denyeth  
it to vertue: I  
was present at the last was done  
him at Lyons in the Church of  
the Minims, and there heard  
his learned discourse, whom  
Henry the great so much had  
lov'd and esteemed, who had  
beene for above fourteene  
yeares the Chrysostome of the  
Court, and of whom France  
may more truly say, then Greece  
of Pericles, that the Temple of  
Perswasion was seated on his  
lips.

And although he forgot nothing, which appertained to the merit, and dignity of this occasion, yet cannot I thinke though he well acquainted himselfe, that I stand disobliged from what I owe to the memory of this man.

He reaped all that was exquisite, and excellent in this subject, I but gleane after him, yet it is sufficient I let it appear, that as to model the pountrrait of Mercury at Athens, they took the picture of Alcibiades, so perfectly to delineate a states-man, we must make use of Villeroy.



## OBSERVATIONS upon the Life and Services of MONSEVR VILLEROY.



**O**VV lively, and strong soever the apprehension of a noble spirit be, it hath need of helpe, and direction, and the greatest men seeke the assistance of those who preceeded, in that profession they intend to pursue: It is to stand upon the highest degree of admiration, to imitate no man, and to be imitated by all. *Satirius Rufus*  
Y.4 followed

followed Cicero, Cicero found flowers of Greek eloquence in the actions of Demosthenes, who boasted to imitate Pericles: Pericles tooke Pisistratus for a paterne: and I verily thinke there is not any States-man will refuse to walke in the manage of affaires on the tracts of Villcrooy, and derive profit from his experience.

The name of a States-man hath so large an extent, and participateth qualities so eminent, and excellent, that it meeteth with few subjects worthy of it. It onely belongs to him, who hath never blemished his reputation by any act of disloyalty: hath perfect knowledge of Men, of Affairs, and Countries, is knowing in all sorts of occurrences, yet thinks not others ignorant: Hopresumes not to know all, he goeth not alwaies the same way, nor turnes out of a good one: he shewes nothing in his opinions, which relisheth

relisheth of the impudence of flattery, or the basenesse of servitude: He suffers not his own interest to out-run the publicke: He never resolves on any thing out of passion, through mood, choler, or hastiness, (oure dangerous rocks of prompt and subtle wits.) Finally, there is order in his discourse, judgement in his writings, sincerity in his opinions, constancy and silence in commands, diligence and facility in resolutions.

R O Y A L Science, which is called Reason of State, or politieke Prudence, consisteth in a vigorous strength of wit, and an absolute experience in the manage of publicke affaires: the knowledge of which, is so hard, that life is too short to understand it. Science comprehendeth those things which tend to demonstration and constancy: Prudence

*Considerations upon*

dence is practised in changes, and revolutions : the one walkes in the high-way of Law and Reason, the other divides it selfe, and departs from the ordinary course.

For which cause *Henry the Great*, a little before his death (for ever to be lamented) said, that he then began to understand what rule was, nor had he learned it but from experience, which he learned his great Book, wherein *No man long reads, who becomes not knowing*. So that as it is impossible to find a Common-wealth, such as *Ciceron representeth*, or an Orator as *Ciceron representeth*, or a Captaine according to *Xenophon*, so it is impossible to have a States-man accommodated with all things requisite to counsell a great Prince, or to assist the Government of a powerfull Republick.

France

**F R A N G E** which was never barren in the production of men of this faculty, hath not seen any man who sooner began this profession, nor hath longer exercised it, than *Monsieur Villeroy*, and if in the last Act of Life, the desire of Eternity had permitted him to thinke of the world, I make no doubt but he tasted this comfort, that he left none behinde him, who had served the King, and State longer, with more trust, or in greater occasions, then He. Who is admired by all, cannot in his profession be compared with any. A man must rise very high to attaine parts so transcendent.

He hath served five Kings, toyled sixe and fifty yeares, lived threescore and fourteen, saw the end of forraign broyles, the beginning of civill. Hopes and Favours to encrease, Rise and Fall : *The Court-manster*, which hath two

two hearts, and two tongues, and is so fruitfull in change, so constant in inconstancy, furnished him with examples, which he was able to apply to all sorts of events.

H E came not alone to the Court, nor inconsiderately, to make up a fortune in that place: The wealth his grandfather left him: and the consideration of the services done by him to King Francis in Italy, and to his mother the Queene Regent in his absence, had already railed him above a vulgar esteeme, besides the liberality of his father, and his marriage at eightene yeares of age to the daughter of Aube-spine, secretary of the Commands; and the most trusfy of the Queene-mothers servants, gave him assurance, that nothing but time opposed his fortune.

It is a matter very difficult to raise it at Court, how industrious

ous soever one be, if a powerfull favour, or some notable service lay not the foundations of it. How many brave spirits wither away for that they have not this sunne in their East? They are gemmes, which lose much of their value and lustre by not being handomely set.

H E likewise derived another maine advantage from his entring into affaires in this his first youth. It is very hard to thrive at Court in the Evening: What a deale of time to unclew so many webs? what watchings to arrive at repose? what affronts to meet with honnor? what calumnies to get out of Envy? There are things harsh and uneasie, which patience and custome makes familiar, and supportable, and especially a certaine annihilation of ones owne will. Who thinks to preserve his own will entire, shall never make great progression

gressions in Court. It is a prison, at the entrance into which, armes must be laid downe, liberty, contentment, repose, and nothing retained but hope and patience. For which cause Monsieur Villeroy so often laid, *That a man must never despair at Court, and patience and importunity overcame all.*

**Q V E E N Katherine,**  
who had so much judgement to make choyce of wits, such liberality to oblige them, employed him in affaires, sent him into Spaine, for performance of certaine Articles of peace made in the yeare 1559. and to Rome to Pope ~~Pius~~ the fourth, concerning the difference of precedency, which had never been before disputed against the most Christian Crowne. It grieves me, that setting down this, I am more than a hundred leagues distant from the originall of a letter written with

with his owne hand, upon the occasion of his embassage; had I meanes to relate some passiges thereof, it should appeare his understanding went on from the first, in a way quite other than ordinary capacities.

The prime piece in the equipage of a States-man, is, a good and solid judgement. Good wits with little labour, small time, and much dexterity, attain their desire: Other, who are dull and heavy, are like barren land, which the more it is cultivated, is the leſſe fruitfull, or as ignorant Mariners, who still complaine of the sea or the windes, and strike not into the heaven, but by accident. A Spirit free and prompt, understands himselfe in Counsels, in Dispatches and Affaires, and as he conceiveth matters in a different manner from others, so his words are not vulgar, they still come to the poynt, and by waies which least appeare. He is subtle in

in arguments, quicke in replies, & easily apprehendeth: His resolutions are perispicuous, and clear: He is not confused in discourse, hath grace in things fained, gravity in matters of truth: He knows how to propose an affaire, to divide it, to pursue, and end it.

**I**N the beginning he had an eye very open to doe nothing contrary to good opinions. As reputation beginneth, it growes or declineth. Above all, integrity is to be wished, for all vertues are to little use, if that be wanting: It is the bottome of that vessell, which breaking, all that is poured in, runnes thorow. The words of an honest man counterpoise an oath; He speakes to men, as if he spake to Gods: He calls things by their own names, openly favoureth good men, sweetly adviseth such as erre, hath not an care, for calumnies, flanders, nor flatteries, and if dissimulation

(the

(the new court vertue) be to be used, he doth it so soberly, that neither innocency nor verity hath cause to complaine. He desires not to make appear all, what he can to the hurt of any man.

**A**T his returne out of Italy, the Queen-mother procured him the reversion of *Aube-spine*, his Father in lawes charge, and recommended his fidelity and vigilance to King *Charles the ninth*, who called him his *Secretary*, trusted him with his most inward thoughts, dictated to him a book of Hunting, and certaine Poems; and among the rest, that, which he addressed to *Ronsard*, wherein he saith,

*Ronsard, thy wit more sprightly  
is than mine,  
My body yonger, abler much than  
thine.*

*Ronsards*

Ronsard's answer began in this manner.

*Such as I am you (Charles) shall  
be one day,  
Life hopeless of returne, still flies  
awaye*

But as nothing is wanting where the grace of God abounds, I am of opinion that not any so much furthered his advancement, as the firme and constant zeale he maintained in Catholick Religion, in times, when the greatest knowing men went out of the way, and novelisme (which hath so powerfull charmes over the French) had corrupted many brave wits both in Schooles and Parliaments. For after the conference of Poissy, the Edict of January having opened Temple, and permitted Altar, against Altar; and when the principall Cities of the Kingdome

dome were surprized, there was such a tottering, that I have heard him say to Henry the Great, and to some elder than himselfe, that the Queen-mother to accommodate her selfe to the times, and to comply with the strongest, seemed not to be an enemy of this novellisme, and permitted testimonies of her affection to it in her Cabinet. *Necessity is a violent, and rough Counsellor in affaires.*

This young man continuing stably in the way of Antiquity, and abhorring this change, wherein ancient Discipline, and the Hierarchy, was scoffed at by those, who beleaved the way they pursued was the most assur'd for safety, and the shorrest to make a fortune, as having powerfull protections in Court: but this constancy augmented the first affection which King Charles bare him. The good liking of Kings is acquired, or manured by

by such, as apply themselves to the first inclinations of their youth, or to the exercises and humours of their pleasures, or to the encrease of their revenues, or to the extent of their conquests. All other wayes are not sure enough, and when one is arrived thither, the best is, that, of Loyalty and Modesty.

AT the age of foure and twenty, He alone executed the charge of *Secretary of State*, and that of the *Exchequer* being vacant, it was united to it. It was not at that time in such splendor, and consideration, as it is now. I have elsewhere made it appear, that under *Lewis the eleventh*, there was no *Secretary of Commands*, as also that the first man in the Chamber received the command of expedition, which was resolved and decreed between the King and the principall

cipall Lords of the Councell: in such sort, that many great actions were seen to be both subscribed, and signed by sundry Secretaries. But ever there was with the Prince some trusty man, who undertooke the care of the most secret resolutions, and the dispatch of the most important. Such was *Balue* under *Lewis the eleventh*, *Brisonnet* under *Charls the eighth*, the *Cardinall of Amboise*, and *Robertet* under *Lewis the twelfth*.

THE Chancellor *Hospital*, and *Morvilliers* Bishop of *Orleans*, Keeper of the Seale, and *Aube-spine*, Bishop of *Limousin*, three great men of this Age, who had the chiefe care of the Kings affaires, imparted their experiences to him, and enabled him, To admire little, and to know much. Diamonds are weighed against Diamonds, and wits are refined by wits in affaires, which pressie forward,

forward, and transport the most heavy, and stupid natures, as Torrents carry along, and unloose the weightiest stones. And as to become eloquent, the imitation of the most exact Pieces of auncient *Orators* should be propoised: so, to prepare a brave Spirit for State-affaires, the shortest way, is, the example of those, who have long practised them. More, men profit by example, and labour, than by precepts and discourse. But as great occasions doe not perpetually happen to exercise the understanding, nor great capacities are still found to handle great affaires; It is an infinite happiness for such as have easie accessle, and familiar conversation with those able men, who being railed upon the highest Spheares of government, see, before other the storm, and calme, at distance, judge of events, and know the source and sequele of affaires: for as one is parched in the Sunne, and perfumed

med in odours, without much a-doe, so such frame their judgement upon all sorts of resolution.

**H**E began his endeavours upon great workes; at which time his Spirit, not poorely groveling upon inferiour things, raised it selfe by strength of wing to the highest, as to its Center. It is fit a States-man know the quality of his owne spirit, and extent of it. There are some, who the more they are advanced, the lesse appear; and other, who will not admit so much light as to make themselves to be well seene: for charges and businesses discover men. Some would be thought worthy of a place, if they had it not.

The comparison of the diversity of Spirits, to that of statues, is not amisse. The Athenians employed two excellent Sculptors, (*Phidias* and *Alcmenes*) to make the head of *Minerva*, and beholding

ding them both together, after they were finished, they scoffed at that which *Phidias* pourtrayed, it being but roughly designed, and admired the other, which with unspeakable cunning, laid together all the most delicate and gentle touches.

But when they were raised upon two high Columnes, that, of *Phidias*, lessening by distance to its due proportion, appeared to be exactly wrought, and *Alcmenes* his Piece, without forme, the height so taking away the beauty, that it seemed no other than a Bowle ill rounded.

There likewise are Spirits, which appeare according as they are more or lesse exalted; some having not vigour enough, unless they be perpetually in the supremest region of affaires, other goe not so high, and their ability mounteth but to a certaine degree, past which they are not knowne, and much adoe they have

have to know themselves. The head turnes, and the eyes dazzle in high places.

There were no slight affaires handled by the Kings Councell in those times, and all dispatches were most important, and all Counsels tended to batailes, and victories. I have heard him say, that hee was present at the making of the Edict of Pacification, in the first troubles in the yeare 1563. The difference of religion, which had divided the French in Gods service, divided them likewise in their service to the King.

Hereupon were two great factions raised, of which religion was the pretext, and government the cause. The Councell of Trent held all the world in Sentinell. The passage of the Duke of Alva into Flanders, gave occasion of feare to the one, and of courage to the other. After Queene-mother had yeelded up the power

of Regency to the King, she let him see the Provinces of his Kingdome. The enterview of this Prince with the Queen of Spaine at Bayon, and the secret counsels held betweene Queen-mother, and the Duke of Alva, occasioned great desigues. The King being at Meaux, saw the forces of the Prince of Condé so neare, that hee was advised to steale to Paris by night, under the conduct of the Switzers. There was a conference at Saint Denis betweene the Kings Deputies, the Chauncellor Hospital, the Bishop of Orleans, Limousin, Saint Sulpitius, with Monsieur the Prince of Condé, where Villeroy also was. It was wayted on by the battaile, wherein the Constable dyed; Monsieur the Duke of Anjou was declared chiefe, and Lieutenant of the Army, Au-be-spine dyed the next day, and Villeroy alone entered into charge, and the times furnished him

him with more busynesse, than was lets him.

**C H A R L E S** the ninth sent him to the Emperour Maximilian, upon the treaty of his marriage with the Princess Elizabeth. This third voyage much holpe to dispose and fortifie his judgement; so fit it is that such as desire to be employed in great affaires, shold see forraigne Countreyes, especially neighbours, which may become enemies. But if the curiositie of seeing, be not accompanied with the affection of judging, and remembiring what is seene, all the profit is lost, and vapours away in meere vanity.

It is not enough to admire rarities abroad, or to be delighted with things pleasing, it importeth to consider, how they are governed in peace, and warre, how the Prince is served, in what his forces consist, what he

wanteth, how his fortresses are built, how provided with munition, and defended, how he entertaines his men of armes, which way he may be assayled, or surprized; Whether bee have more wood to heat his Oven, than Corne to send to the Mill.

Young men easily observe the vices of Nations, and sow the seeds of quarrels, when they upbrayd such with them who passionately strive to maintaine the honour of those Nations, and who believe their owne is still exempted from ordinarie vices.

Ignorance of affaires both foraign and domestique, is no lesse shamefull in a States-man, than in a Physician, who nothing fears the temperature of mans body. An ignorance which many times leades Princes along into lost designes, with such blindness, that they often make war against those, of whom they should

should aske peace.

THE King foreseeing the course of his owne life would not be long, recommended him to his brother, when he was going into Poland. He dyed at *Bouis S. Vincent*, and the affection he bare him, reduced him into his memory at that time, when hee had none at all for wordly matters. If this Prince made use of violent counsels, Villeroy gave them not, for he many times told him, that the Prince who had more care to make himselfe to be feared than beloved, was sure in the end to be more hated than feared. *Fear is an ill Schoole of duty.* This cruell, and abhomina-<sup>262</sup>  
*Soper Pre. 2  
Saggs 646*ble word (Let them hate, so they feare) is not Christian like; the very *Romans* knew it not but in the time of *Sylla*.

VILLEROY'S service was prettily to necessary, that after the death of his first

Z 3. Master,

Master, he was no lesse favoured by the second. Discovering the blacke cloud, which brake into a prodige of revolt and sedition, he gave the King this just counsell, to reunite the Royall Stocke in one and the same beliefe, and designe, and not to divide Carbicks, that they might not acknowledge any other Prince for head but the lawfull.

He employed him to get two men to come into the Court, who were most deare unto him, the Duke of Alencon, and the King of Navarre. Ambition, which more considereth the scope of desire, than duty, had taken from him the affection of the one; and nowell opinions, contrary to ancient beliefe, had daubed the conscience of the other. He sent Queen-mother to them, and would have her to be assisted by Riferoy in this negotiacion. It is a great happiness for a servant, when he is employed to make

make an accord between the children of the family.

HE was the first who had notice of the purpose of creating a new order of Knighthood. Perhaps he might have done better to have restored, that, of St. Michael into grace, as the Emperour Maximilian hath been praised, to have raised, that, of the Golden fleece. This Prince having other thoughts, instituted that, of the Holy Ghost, and beleaved Villeroy, who told him, that communicating it to few, it thereby should be the more illustrious. A Prince ought to be very retentive in conferring titles of honour, which are the true rewards of merit. There was no reason to deny Themistocles the Crowne, who vanquished the Persians in the battell of Salamina, and give it to Demosthenes, who fled out of the field.

IT is well knowne, how passions swayed and overflowed against this Prince, and how many writings insolently free, were published against him; he caused the authors to be punished, but it was contrary to Villeroy's advice, who had learned from the wile, that Paper suffis all, and that, the more Satyrs and Pasquils are forbidden, the more they are sought after.

It is not the duty of a Statesman to wound the minde of his Prince with all manner of bruits, nor to inflame his anger against those, who invent or spread them to the prejudice of his reputation. There is no kinde of offence ought more to be dissembled, than that of Tongues, Pens, and Impressions.

Generous souls account themselves sufficiently revenged by letting it appeare they can be revenged. Alexander mocked at them,

them, Augustus recompenced them, Tiberius dissembled them, Titus scorned them. It onely is for great Kings to doe well, and heare evill. Three good Emperours, Theodosius, Arcadius, and Honorius, father and sonnes, have on this leſt ſo divine a law, that it ſeemeth to have been dictated by heaven. See it in French, as it is in Latin, in the seventh Title of the ninth Code. If any one through want of modesty, and excede of impudence, beligerous he is permitted to invade our reputacion, by maligne and insolent flanders, and (drunke) with passion, becomes a detractor of our government, we will that he for it be not liable to any punishment, nor ſuffer any thing rough or rigorouſ: For if it proceed from levity, he is to be pardoned; if from fury, he is to be pitied; If from injury, it is to be forgiven: and therefore we will, that the entire knowledge thereof be preserved, to the end, that conſidering

sidering the quality of words by the persons, we may advise whether we shalld pursue or dissemble them.

## COMPLACENCE

is so familiar with Princes, that one had need to have a soul very religious, not to love better to please with Truth, than to be acceptable by flattery. There is nothing in Kings Palaces so rare in simple truth. An Archbisshop of France said one day to Queen mother, during the assembly of the generall States of Paris, that it was now fifty years that truth had not gone through the doore of her Cabinet. And another Bishop preaching in the Louvre last yearre, said to the King, That it entred not into Kings houses, but by stealth, and through the windows. The Prince is much bound to a faifthfull servant, who tells him with confidence and discretion; and to be well served it

is fit he ordaine honours, and rewards eyed to the Truth told him, in doubtfull and important cases, the concealing whereof would be prejudiciale.

Queen Katherina loved a certaine Lord of her owne Nation, Villcroy perceiving the Princes, and prime men of the Kingdome did complain of it; and that such complaints are ever the seeds of partialities, bad the boldnesse to beteech her to moderate this affection, which she did; and he whom she affected, used such modesty and good discretion therein. That his fortune was never subject to ill adventures, which alwayes meet with those, who abuse favour.

King Henry the third after his returne out of Poland, was quickly weary of military exercises, suffering this his warlike humour to dissolve in the delights and vanities, which peace bringeth. He instituted divers companies of

seculars,

seculars, who lived, not alwaies, but for certaine houres, regularly. His principall retreat was at Bois S. Vincent, whither he drew the Nobility; and for that affaires followed him every where, he would that Villeroy who had the care of those, which could hardly be put over to the next day, should take the habit as other, and should have a peculiar place, as it were a parlour, to receive packets, and heare Courriers. But perceiving expeditions were retarded, he said to him as truely, as generously, (Sir) Duties and obligations are considered according to time, and that is the cause why old debts should be paid before new: you have beeue King of France before you were head of this Company, your conscience obligeth you to render to regality, what you owe it, before you grant to the congregation, what you have promised it. You may dispense with your self in the one, not in the other:

other; you weare not Sackcloth, but when you list, but you have the Crowne on your head perpetually; and no lesse weighty is it in this retirement, than in affaires. This is to speake.

A Prince cannot give too much time to piety, but hee must sometime leave God for God, who permits himselfe to bee found in affaires, and contents himselfe with a good intention. Let heaven bee of brasle for France; while piety lives in the heart of its Kings, it shall need no other raine; no more than Egypt, which cares not since it bath the water of Nilus that fattens and refresheth it.

But they ought to desire it may be most pure, without art or enforcement, walking with head erected, without laying it on this or that side. It avoydeth these two extremes, Impiety & Superstition. Many Princes by the one have braved God, and have

have thought ill of him by the other. Impiety blindeth the soule, Superstition maketh it dull sighted. Piety loves God, inspiring certeinesse him, as if he were a man: Superstition feares him, as if hee were not a God.

**S E E I N G** this Prince loved solitude, and made his ordinary abode at Paris, hee gave him counsell to send some principall Lords of his Councell throughout the Provinces, that his Majestie might there be seen by the effects of his justice, since they were deprived of the contentment of his presence; imitating the Sun, who stirring not out of Heaven sendeth his rayes thoroughout the world. If they be good men, and of quality, they every where advance the service of the Prince, their words are as so many flaming arrowes, which with their heat melt the Ice contracted in distant places.

A Prince cannot better preserve the good will of his people than by employing men, who only effect a generall good. Of all the preceps which the Emperor Charles left to his son Philip the second, this is observed to be the best. That not being able to be in so many remote and diuers places, he shoule handle the matter so, as daily he might be seen by his authority and justice, dispossessing them in the handes of persons of great innocency, and vertue, that his subjects might not have occasion to bee sorry for his absence.

**T H E** King who to be revenged, purposed tragically to end the Assembly of the States of Blos, sent him a Ticket of retreat, for no other reason but for fear, lest he and Bellier might divert him from his pretencies; and lest much depending on the Queen-mothers dispote, they might

might give her some notice of it. For greatly he feared the spirit of this mother, who had a great power over him, besides, he saw not clearly into her practises. *The Spirit of man is very hard to be known, but that of a Woman never.* Hee thought the bloud of these two Princes would quench the fire they had enkindled; but he more redoubled the flame. For a while after, there was almost a generall revolt. The *Saturniall feasts* were renewed, wherein servants became Masters, and Galli. slaves no sooner left the Oare at the signall given by the Capitaine, but that that the most obliged fell off from their duty. He then offered the King the continuation of his service, which his principall servants forooke; but he, not understanding the weakness of his owne Counsell, imagined, he might slip over a man so necessary, and confident.

A Prince diggeth out his own eyes,

eyes, when he inconsiderately riddes himselfe of a servant, who knoweth his affaires. Almost all Poland had conceived an implacable hatred against Gavaric the Kings most faithfull Counsellor, *Lescus*, and *Blanc* threatening him to choose another King, if he banished him not. Gavaric was content, and besought the King to throw him into the sea, since hee was the cause of the Tempest, protesting that he not only would willingly lose his Countrey, but his life also for the safety of his Prince, & the Peace of his Countrey. *Lescus* decla-red, *he had rather retire, and live as a private person, than stay in a Kingdome under so unjust, and unreasonable a condition.*

VILLEROY then, hoping neither for safety, nor protection, that way, cast himselfe on the side wherein his Father, his Sonne, his Wife, his Family

mily, and his goods were. Hee much desired to expect in one of his houses till those stormes might fall, but being unable to abide there, but at the discretion of the violence of the times, he was constrained to forsake the way of Justice for the way of Prudence. In intestine broyles, the worst side is to bee of none : In particular quarrels it is a poynt of wisdome to stand neuter. Who only respecteth the place, goeth off when he will ; who is of a faction is not so admitted, that hee can leave it, without ruining it.

And yet notwithstanding he was in such account with both, that although discretion and equity appeared not in these confusions, but by the light of Hargroves, all, which belonged to him was regarded, his family felt not the miseries of the siege of Paris, his friends caused him to keepe victuals secretly, and some times

times in drummes, his house at Conflans was preserved by a Lord who honoured the Father, and had beene bred with the Sonne. At the taking of Pontoise, a great man of this kingdome had the care to cause al the moveables of his house of Haincourt to be brought into a strong City of his government, and when the peace was concluded, he sent them backe to him in Care, as it were by Inventory, there being not perceived the losse of any the least parcell. It was an admirable providence of God to see, that against all likelihood, it should be restored him, and that his charge of Secretary of State, should likewise be rendered him.

How rigorous usage soever he received from his King, his affection towards his memory was no whit exasperated. Henry the Great told mee one day the strange resolution this Prince had

had

had against the Duke of Alençon his brother, and commanded me not to forget it in his history saying: *It was necessary to observe the faults of Princes, to the end that such as come after them may not wander in that way, wherein they lost themselves.* I framed a discourse upon it, and shewed it to Monsieur Villroy, to submit it to his judgement. He assured mee hee had never heard of it. The King hearing this answere, said: *You ought to believe me, because I speake the truth; and you cannot but praise Monsieur Villétoy, who would not speake it to prejudice the honour of his Master.* To this may be referred his answere made to Tinteville, saying unto him, that none but hee was able to write the history of that time, I am (faith he) too much bound to the memory of Henry the third to undertake it.

After the dreadfull, and tragical

call death of this Prince, and on the next day after, he sent to one of the most cruxy servants of his successor, an expresse messenger, who represented unto him, that the harshnesse of warre would be the destruction of the state, & dissembled not with the Duke de Maine, that it would ruine Religion, and advance their faction, who went about to reforme it.

This desire of peace rendred him odious to such as sought to profit by war; the Spaniards decryed his good intentions; bad French called him the *Politicien*, and although the Cities in this desperate liberty felt many miseries by warre, and created many more by their partialities, yet the name of *Peace* was so odious amongst them, that quiet spirits were accounted turbulent innovators.

It was through the constancy of his judgement, and of one other

either of much courage, and great understanding, that the Duke de *Mayne* found it to be the best, and most adventurous counsell which was ever given to a Prince, to cause fourteene of sixteen to be taken, who through a furious act of injustice, had dishonoured this royall Parliament. By the like advice he drove away a petty tyrant from the *Bastile*, which he had made the store-house of his thefts, and lastly, gave the governement to a noble spirit, whose constancy and unshaken fidelity *Henry the Great* applauded, for he esteemed an honest man, on what side soever he were.

A S it is not hard to guide a ship which sayles before the wind, so it is not difficult to give counsell where there is neither maine impediment, nor peril, but rough stormes try good Pilots, and great affaires strong judge-

judgements. Such appeared, that, of *Villeroy* in this over-whelming tempest, where it was dangerous both to give counsell, and to refuse.

He freely told the Duke de *Maine*, that there was but one of these three wayes to pacifie the kingdome, either to accord with the King, or to reunite all the Catholickes under one head against him, or to submit themselves to the protection of the Spaniard. The third being perilous, as contrary to the lawes of the kingdome, and the humours of the French: and the second verily difficult (the Princes of the blood being straightly united for the interest of their houses) he advised the first under this condition, that the King should re-enter into the Catholicke Church, and that he who had the keyes of it, would open the doore. That his Majestie should be sought unto therein by a notable and celebrious

ous embassage : and publikely, to justifie their Armes in case hee would not hearken to this just meanes of peace. The times have made it appear, how many miseries have been avoyded by following this counsell. Those riuers of bloud drawn from all the veynes of the body of *France*, would have served to ciment together great Bulwarkes, to defend it against its enemies. It were to write a history to represent what was done in that time, it sufficeth to tell you that the fruit of his negotiation was the conference of *Surenne*, which advanced the Kings conversion, after the truce, which was waited on by peace, as by the daughter on the mother. The people having tasted the sweetnesse of repole, would have no more troubles, the faction of the Duke *de Maine* found it selfe weake, and succour failing, every one provided for himself.

After

A F T E R the conversion of the King, he entred into the Kings service, and as *Æneas* going from the sack of *Troy*, carried along with him his Father, his Sonne, and an important place, which served for the reduction of therest. The wisest condemned the obstinate, which shut up their eyes against this growing light, and required more ceremony to returne to their duty, than they had used in their separation.

The King gave him his charge of *Principall Secretary of State*, and from the very day he entred into it, he perceived, order returned to affaires, to the great comfort of his heart. He spared not to say, *I have dispatched more busynesse to day with Monsieur Villeroy, than I did with other in sixe moneths.* He never spake to him upon any occasion, how strange or unexpected so-

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ver

ver it were, that he delivered not his opinion, grounded either upon reason, or example. He wondered that such a head knew so much, without acquiring in youth ought which is learned by study, or which is gained by bookes; most certaine it is, that had this so vigorous and sprightly a judgement been cultivated by Art and Science, he would have arrived to much more perfection, & say what we can, Theory walkes more solidly than practise, and bookes shew in a little time what experience teacheth not, but with the expence of many yeares.'

HE never negotiated with any man, that he was not too hard for him. There have beeene forraign Embassadors, who were held in their own country to be Intelligences and spirits in the discovery and discussion of affaires, who talking with him, found

found their subtleties were but like beards or ears of corne, encountering with the solidity of such a judgement: their discourse but capitches, their skill but formalities.

They who mannage affaires, doe all of them propose one same marke, but they goe to it by different wayes; and some sooner than other. The *Italians* by profound discourse penetrate farre into the future: The *Spaniards* derive their best resolutions from passed examples: the *French* stick upon the present: but *Prudence* regardeth all three times, and ever grounds its reasons upon the necessity of the present, the profit or losse of the passed, and the foresight of the future. They who were but his halfe friends, affirm his parts were not ordinary; a great integrity free from avarice, a great modesty, an exquisite ingenuity, an incredible vigilancy, opposite to profusion, innovati-

on and disorder. He read all was presented to him, he put not busynesses over to the next day, He cleared the Table every day, and dayes and nights are not more equall under the Equinoctiall, than were his words and actions. He carried in the most embroyled confusions, the same countenance which he shewed in the greatest contentments of the Court. Bruit affrighted not him, who bene not his apprehension, but to just and apparent feares. To feare all, is cowardise; to feare nothing is stupidity; with the same hand with which he presented the evill, he gave the remedy. The King considering, that, his goodnessse and dexterity, often said, I must needs say, Monsieur Villeroy is a good and gracious servant.

He gave audience without trouble, confusion, or impatience: the gravity which one met with in the beginnning, was

. sweet.

sweetned by a great affability, a matter necessary for a Statesman: for the stoutest spirits are paid, and satisfied with good words, which never excoriate the tongue, and are repulld by harshnesse; They who are sowre, and austere, who heare not with attention, and patience, nor answer but in anger, destroy the Princes service, who is bound, either in his own person to hear, and see, or by his ministers, who are his eyes, and eares. Doe you thinke (said Rodolphus, founder of the famous houle of Austria) that I am chosen Emperour to be perpetually shut up in a Box?

HE used great advisednesse, not to precipitate his counsels; Henry the Great proposed a very urgent businesse to him, and seeing his coldnesse, asked him why he spake not: Because (saith he) I thought it a matter of command, not of speech. He desired to have

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his advice in an occasion which concerned a Prince of the blood, he answered, when Kings deliberate upon any thing, which toucheth their allies, they must onely consult with nature. *A States-man ought to know upon what, and how he must give, or refuse to give counsell.* In some matters it is cowardize to be silent, in other it is temerity to speake, but in no hand it is permitted to give counsell, before it be asked. He gave the King that good counsell, which greatly served to establish peace, and destroy the pretexts of warre, causing Monsieur the Prince, who was at S. John d' Angely, to come to the Court, and to be bred in Catholick religion, that it might plainly appear in the lawfull succession, for this uncertainty occasioned feare in mindes, and entertained partiality in the provinces.

Kings

K I N G S are alwayes Kings; but in civil divisions as they are not acknowledged by one side, so they are not well obeyed by the other. This Prince during the warre, had beeene often constrainyd to play the *Carrabin*, to overcome in his Cabinet by sweetnesse, before hee fought in the field by valour; Here, to be a fellow in arms, and there a Souldier. The actions of his Majestie were obscured, as the statue of *Minerva* was veyled during the solemnity of *Plynterises*; or, as all stood sad at *Rome* whilst the *Salii* ( those mad Priests of *Mars* ) bare the *Ancylia* through the streetes.

The King well perceived the prejudice which ensued thereon: for as great severity exasperateth affections, so too much facility vilifieth authority. *Villeroy* told him, that a Prince who was not jealous of respects due to Majestic, permitted both the

offence, and the contempt : That Kings his predecessors in the greatest confusions, had alwaies carried themselves like Kings : That it was time hee should speake, write, and command like a King : That it was not alwaies done, there had before beeene too much regard of words, too much advisednesse in dispatches, too much consideration in commands. He had often entreated those hee should command, recompenced those who deserved punishment, and appeased such as had angred him.

When he was peacefull, they who had lived in indifferency, had much adoe to returne to distinctions, and order. Insolent presumption, and proud arrogancy ( the ordinarie Symptomes of indocible, and inconstant spirits ) could not arraunge themselves under the lawes of modesty, and duty.

From that time the King became

came a King in good earnest, he put the most refractory under discipline, & many found themselves under those they sought to precede. Majesty, which so freely had suffered itself to be approached unto, and to be importuned, became so tender, that how little soever it was touched, it shewed it selfe to bee wounded. For which cause the King said, *Villeroy* had taught him to play the King, and had shewed him more in six moneths, than hee had knowne thereof in six yeares. He some time after being asked, if he would keepe the festivall of the three Kings in the beginning of the yeare, he remembred himselfe what *Villeroy* had said unto him, and added ; wee have but too much played the Kings. *Anthonius Epiphanes* King of Asia, for having contemned Majesty, and not knowing how to bee a King, was surnamed the *Madman*.

He could not learne this lesson from a better master; for precepts to make a King, are not acquired but from rule, and many must be observed to know what the Offices thereof are. Those of private perions are daily practised, royall grow not, nor appeare not, but in great occasions.

As *Adaldagne* having beeene Secretary of State fifty yeares to three *Orboes*, Emperours, and *Gasper Schlick* to *Sigismond*, *Albertus*, and *Fredericke* the third, were reputed skilfull of all the obligations of Emperours: to *Villeroy*, who had already scene the court under the reign of *Francis* the second, and had entered into imployments under the reigne of *Charles* the ninth, and had managed the most important affaires under *Henry* the third, and was not ignorant of any of the greatest under *Henry* the fourth, could alone give this instruction.

Who

Who teacheth what is to be done, cannot be ignorant how it is to be done, which is the cause there is no great difference between those who rule, and such as shew how to rule. They have but one marke to aime at, which is the safety of the state, both the one and the other are ordained to serve the Common-wealth; and for this it is, why a *Roman* Emperour laid, that to reigne was to serve, comprizing this veritade in three words, *To serve the Senate*, by submitting to Counsels; *To serve all*, by looking after the common good; *To serve particulars*, by yeelding right to all, and defending them from injury.

SO that he who can well serve the Prince, can well serve the State, who can play the States-man can play the Prince. It is one same thing to appoint or counsell, that, which must be appointed.

appointed. All, which serves to rule well, serves to counsell him well who ruleth.

In treaties with strangers he hath ever shewed the generosity of his spirit. Did he not say to the Patriarch of Constantinople, who made the first overture of the peace between the two Kings, (pursued, and concluded so gloriously by the Chancellors, Belclerc, and Sillery) that Spaine could not hope for it, without restitution? And to speak so Princes of restitution, is it not to increase variance? What got Ronceas from him, when he proposed the Duke of Savoy's desire to come into France, but that he should not be welcome, if he had an intention to with-hold, what he ought to restore? After the treaty of Paris, he said: We still expect when this Prince will be delivered of a good word. And thereupon his Embassadors saying, the King of Spaine would

pass:

pasle into Italy to defend the inheritance of his Nephewes, he replied; That is it we desire, for if we must breake, the cause is just, and the agreement will be the better made, and the more perfect.

This praise-worthy passion of the greatness of this Crowne, made him one of the most unwilling for the exchange of the Marquilate of Saluce, for la Bresse; he not enduring to counsell the King to lessen his frontier. He considered that Henry the third had often repented him to have rendred the Cities of Pignarol, Savilliana, and Perouse to the Duke of Savoy, which were the keyes of Dauphine and Piemont, and that the Duke of Nevers, not seeming to consent to an act so contrary to the greatness of this Crowne, had demanded to be discharged from the government of Provinces beyond the mountaines. This brave Prince, then, forelaw, and foretold, that

so

so soone as this gate were shut up against the French, that, of the Grisons would not long continue open.

When a Prince hath any thing from another by the right of Armes, or other title, how flightly soever it be coloured, he is not well counseled, to render it againe. It is a Maxime among all Princes, and there is none so tender of conscience, who wil mortally wound his owne state, to accomodate his neighbour.

A Prince, potent, warlike, and peaceable, thinks on nothing but the enlargement of his frontiers, and sees no limits of it, but at the poynt of his sword. It is said Lewis the eleventh made this answer to those who spake of the weakenesse of the frontiers of Picardy against the English: Trouble not your selves, my frontier is much farther. As much as to say, that to keep the English in peace, he would make warre upon

upon them in Scotland.

As he shewed the constancy of his courage to strangers, so he made the like generosity to appeare in reducing the Kings subjects to their duty. He hath shewed the greatest of this kingdome, that their greanesse onely rested in humbling themselves to the Kings will: That there was no safety for them, but in their loyalty: That the quality of Prince-prince dispensed not with them from being the prime servant to the King.

When the King undertooke the voyage of Sedan, the Lord of that place more confiding in the Kings goodnesse, and the consideration of his services, than in the defence of his fortresse, desired to speake with Monsieur Villcroy, who went to finde him out at Torcy. The King during their conference, uttered these words, I have sent him a rough Greyhound, He flattered him not, when

when he said, his unhappinesse and ruine were in resistance; his safety, and hope in humility and obedience. He yeelded up the Fort, and it was a notable piece of judgement in Monsieur Villeroy. For particular interest made it selfe generall in the passion of those who said, they apprehended no other perill for this Lord, but that he had enemies neare unto the King, who would counsell him to make the Altars of Rome to smoke with his bloud in hatred of his religion.

At all times Villeroy preferred the Kings service before all other thoughts, neglecting his owne affaires for those of the State, and hence ensued that infinite proofe of his integrity, in that he very little augmented the estate, which his ancestors left him.

His long services, his incessant industry,

industry, the affection of five Kings, might have filled his house with so great riches, as to make them comparable to the wealth of that Roman Citizen, who saw rivers to rise and glide along in his own lands. His father was governour of Pontoyse, Menlan, and Mantes: Henry the third had given to his sonne the Licutancy in the governement of Lyons. Henry the Great gave it him after the death of Monsieur la Guiche (the flowre of noble, free, and generous soules) he afterward had the governement in chiefe, which Monsieur de Vendome held. And all this compared to the toyls of such a servant, shewes, that in the houses of Kings, gratitude is not always equivalent to great services.

Whereupon Henry the Great said, *Princes have servants of all prices and fashions. Some do their own busynesse before their masters: Some doe their masters, and forget not*

not their owne; but Villeroy thought his masters was his, and used the same eagernesse which another wold have done in solliciting his owne cause, or labouring in his owne vineyard.

There is neither greatness, nor encrease of a state to be hoped for, where it is governed by men more carefull of their owne particular, than the publicke. So likewise it is fit the Prince doe his affaires, who serveth him, that he may have his spirit free, which cannot be, he having that (monster Poverty) in his minde. Philip the second King of Spaine, said to Ruy Gomes, his faithfull servant, Dispatch my affaires, and I will dispatch thine. When after his death many spake of the great riches he left, he said, I thought I had done much better for him.

Never was any man more earnest for the honour of a state, than Villeroy. The chiefe poynt of his instructions to Embassadours, who

went to serve the King out of the kingdome, was, religiously to preserve the honour of majesty, to speake nothing imprudently, nor wickedly give care to any thing against it; and he alwaies made the King in his dispatches, to speake as a Prince, great, and awfull, in elegant termes, but such as were most proper for Kings. In his particular letters there was ever something gentle, &c which shewed him to be a man well borne, and long bred in the cabiner of Kings.

**H**O **VV** great soever his credit was he abused not the good opinion of his master, nor tyred him with troublesome suits. So likewise when he spake for any one, his recommendation alone was an undoubted proofe of merit. As he was not of an humour to doe good to many, so he wold not hurt any, nor oppose the Princes liberality to divert it:

To

To doe no good to any, is Avarice; to binder another therin, is Cruelty.

MANY brave spirits would have been unknown, if he had not made them to be knowne, and acknowledged. He raised some of them to the Principall honours of the Church, and amongst many, I will make choyce but of two for an example, because they were of the same promotion, and arrived unto it by two severall wayes, the one by the merit of learning, the other by judgement in affaires.

Villeroy, who was advertised of all, and recommending the first to Henry the Great, told him, his great learning had been so admired at Rome in the first voyage he made after, that, of the Duke of Nevers, that would he have stayed, the Pope gave him hope of great fortunes, and honour.

honour. He needed to say no more, to resolve the King, who had notice of this truth in his owne conversion, and in the conference of Fountainebleau.

The other was in such esteeme at Rome, that had it not been for his opinion concerning originals saine, he had been chosen Pope. He told his friends he was bound to Villeroy for the Cardinals cap, who not so much considered his merit, as his owne desire to doe the King good service, to the end that such as should have the like intention, might be assured of the same reward. Three great ornaments of France, who have had the Seales of the Kingdome (the Seales, the sacred marke of the Kings Justice) have not concealed that Villeroy's recommendation had holpen their merit.

HE commended not this vehement pission of searching into, or correcting things past.

He

He held his peace in the beginning of the pursuit against Financiers; but after the first heat was cooled, he dextrously tooke his time to overthrow it, and told the King, he had ever observed more trouble than fruit in such enquiries, which being too general, often times involved the innocent with the guilty, and disturbed the peace of Families. This was not, that he desired not to see abuses corrected, and Sponges squeezed; but there are remedies which make the malady worse.

He desired the people should have meanes to breathe, and our Kings to be so rich, and potent, that all extraordinary wayes to get money, might be abolished. Our revolts and seditions have multiplied the miseries within, and drawn on fury abroad; have caused warres, which cannot be undertaken without money, nor ended but by peace; and peace not

being

being to be had but by Armes, Armes are not maintained but by money, and money cannot be got but by tributes.

In these great extremities our Kings have beene constrained to have recourse to violent remedies, to mow the meadow as often as they list. Charges are augmented, and redoubled by the increase of evils, in such sort, that Philip, surnamed the Long, saw himselfe reduced into so violent, and pressing necessities, that to come out of them, he demanded the fifth part of the revenue, and labours of his subjects, without any imagination of the times, or distinction of persons.

The true opinion of his integrity, had acquired so great a reputation, that not onely his words were weighed, but great heed also was taken of his silence.

They who flatter Princes, and hold their vices to be imperfect vertues,

vertues, approved by their discourse, a designe, which Villeroi dissuaded by his silence. This Prince comming to himself, said, that Villeroi saying nothing, spake much to him. Behold what power the sole countenance of an honest man hath!

HE never did any important thing but by his advice, from whō he derived the knowledge, both of what he should doe, as also what might happen, when it were done. How often hath he been heard to say, Villeroi said it; all is done as Villeroi foresaw it. Newes was brought to him, that the Duke of Savoy had caused Poncas to be arrested. Sir (said Villeroi) D' Albigny will receive the counter-blow. The prediction was true, and deciphered the strength of a great judgement.

He so clearly looked into the future, that it is above fifteen years

yeares agot since he said that the greatest would one day account it an honour to be present at the raising of a man, who is joined for that he had not a friend to whisper him in his ear, what people's daily said to himself, Take heed Pericles, thou commandest free men, thou hast to do with Athenians.

A true friend had spoken that to him, which Villeroi said to a Prince: That he had observed of times at Court, that fortunes which come leasurely, are the latest ruined. But false amities entartaine men onely with fables, and blasts of wiſde, which fill empty imaginations. Strong and generous soules suffer not themselves to be deceived by vanity. They are Lyons, which for a time endure to be led whither one will, whilst their eyes are covered; but when they have liberty to understand themselves, they become untractable. The same

Lyons suffer themselves to be dressed up with flowres to enter into the Games; but if their shadow, or the water shew them that this dresse is not consonant to their generofity, they tear it in pieces. It is onely fit for dull and stupid oxen, who are led along to sacrifices.

HIS Cabinet hath beeene as an universall map: there was to be seen the ground-plot of the greatest enterprizes of Christendome, there was scarcely a Monarchy or Republick in the world which had not somewhat to do there. It was the Academy where the Princes of the bloud, and other Peers became capable of those things, the ignorance whereof is not excusable. Recourse was made thither as to a certaine Register to determine disputes of ranks, to order the ceremonies of the most solemne actions of Majesty.

No man entred into it, who went not out more knowing; men of action there learnt maximes of state, Embassadors there took their instructions, Generals of Armies there received direction of designes, and Governours of Provinces their power.

So well his counsels served to the preservation, and continuance of peace, that it is to be feared, lest we have occasion to say, as Pope *Sixtus* the fourth did, That the peace of *Italy* died with *Galeas Duke of Milan*. In this Cabinet *Henry the Great* hath renewed his alliances with his neighbours, hath quenched the civill warre of *Italy*, hath established the repose of the *Hollander*, hath succoured his allies in *Germany*, hath weighed so many sundry propositions for the glory of this Crowne, and revenge of injuries.

In this Cabinet it was, where the holy mariage, everlastingly

happy, was proposed, which afforded *Henry the Great*, sonnes to be the assured pillars of this Crowne, the love and ornament of strangers. Heaven had ordained, that our *Hercules*, after so many labours, should repose in the chaste bolome of Princesse *Mary*, daughter of *Francis*, the great Duke of *Tuscany*, and *Joane of Austria*, daughter of the Emperour *Ferdinand*, honoured with two the most supreme titles, which may adorn a generous soule, being wife to *Henry the Great*, and mother of *Lewis the just*. It onely belonged to her, that her head already crowned with immortall Laurels of vertue, should be so likewile with the prime crowne of the world; but God, who at the same time had delivered her from a great malady, hath reserved her to be the eldest Queene of Christendome.

Villeroy

**VILLEROY** was one of the three, whom *Henry the Great* recommended with so much affection to this great Princesse, & who contrary to all discourse, and humane appearance, have maintained order in affaires, and quiete in the kingdome during her regency. Whilst she authorized their Counsell, and cherished their good intention, *Tranquillity*, *Plenty*, and *Obedience*, three marks of the felicity of Empires, made this kingdome to flourish. Constantine the great, wondring that *Alexander S everus* had so happily reigned, comming to the Empire young, and an alien (for he was a *Syrian*) it was answered him, that *Mammes* his mother was directed and counselled by personages of great experience, and integrity, *Ulpianus*, *Iulius Paulus*, *Fabius*, *Sabinus*, *Romponius*. It was upon the assistance of men of this quality, and on the

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wife-

wisedome of such, that *Plorena*, wife of *Trajan*, entring into the Imperiall palace, and turning her self towards the people, laid, *Such as I come in bitter, such I desire to come forth.* A head cut off in the Greve stupified, and astonished a sedition, and settled the authority of the regency, which was but newly begun, and *Villeroy* judged this example to be necessary, although alliance obliged him rather to looke after the abolishment, than the punishment of the crime.

She had in the beginning so much confidence in his counsels, that she thought they made up a part of the prosperity of her Regency, as *Athens* termed *Aristides* the felicity of *Greece*. Had they been followed, the first stirres raised against the government, had beene stifled in their birth, and the second had not passed *II* rivers, if her conference with *Monsieur* the Prince, had not been

been broken off.

She witnessed her great and just affection, when she visited him in a sharpe sickness, saying, that in her devotions, after shee had remembred the soule of her husband, and the life of her son, she prayed for the health of *Villeroy*.

THE Y who have their tastes so depraved, that they forsake sweet for sowe, gustfull for unsavory, and who in discourse seeke for nothing but Satyricall stings, will say, that the lively colours of so many rare, and eminent qualities, as are in this Table, were to be heightened by the shadowes of reproches, fastned on the originall. But all this being but dust which marres it not, I remit them to two Apologies, which give a reason of all hath beene raised against his reputacion.

It is true; men the most perfect,

fect, having imperfections; in him there hath beene obserued some excesse of gravity. He knew the great supereminency which experience gave him over others, and was very carefull to preserve it; when he treated with the most able of all sortes; very sensible, and curious he was upon all passages, which proceeded against his judgement, he delighted to see his opinions applauded, and would not hazard them, unlesse he were sure they should finde credit, or successse.

I hereupon remember, that when Queene-mother sent him in the yeare 1612. to Monsieur the Prince, & to Monsieur Ganty to conjure them to return to the Court, they said of him, that bee of all men in the world, was able alone to give a great Prince, bold, free, and good counsell; but he was so accustomed to goe before, that he made him to come after.

He who sits highest, in the  
Theater,

Theater, is loth to descend lower for the last commers. It is a harsh thing for such as have grown old in a Princes service, to yeeld to others. They still have in their mindes, that, which Ctesiphon said to Eschines. You playd the game, and I laid out the money: you wrote, and I spake: you were the wrastler, and I the spectator: you danned, and I piped: you dispatched your owne busynesse in the government, and I, those of the publicke.

The treaties of mariage between the King, and Queene, made him odious to such as consider the Crowne of Spaine, as a Comet on their side. Then was the time, when good intentions were decryed by some, suspected by other, and that Calumny began to assaile them. As Hercules, although the sonne of Jupiter, was not put into the number of the gods, untill he had fought with Hydra: so he had not arrived to the great reputation of being the

Oracle of this state, unlesse he had grappled with this monster. But as *Hercules* made so little account of slanders, that he ordained a sacrifice, wherein he would not be adored but by injuries, he mocked at it, and told his friends, *These kinde of devils are not driven away, but by contempt.*

A packet was brought him, surprized at *Orleans*, which was going to the Assembly at *Thoneins*, full stuffed with complaints and reproches against his honour, blaming him for advising these mariages, and urging the execution of them.

He shewed it to all the world, although it was in his power to have made it vapour away, unseen by any: a lesson for others, not to supprese either a dispatch, or an advice, how prejudiciale soever it may be to their honour, or to the fortune of their friends; for it is fit for the Prince to be informed of all, and that his service take

take away all respects and particular interests.

It was read in the Cabinet, and every one admired the constancy of his soule, which neither shook nor was stirred with so rough assaults, even before the faces of King, Queen, and Princes, and other ministers of state. It is weakness of spirit, or a confusion of crime, to resent an injurie, which one knowes can neither touch, nor wound us. A lye covereth all.

**F O R T V N E**, which tryed the constancy of *Scevoln* by fire: of *Fabricius* by poverty: of *Rutilius* by banishment, proved the courage of *Villeroy* by meanes which should uphold him, and his enemies shot arrowes against him, which they ought to have kept to defend him. As he was very odious to some, for having advised the alliance of *Spaine*, so he was blamed by others, for seeking to delay the accomplishment, and not

approving the exchange of the governement of Picardy for that of Normandy, he in a moment law-favour eclipsed.

He retired into his house of Conflans, proposing to himselfe to end in the haven, the yeares he had spent in the floud and ebbe. He had wished this retreat, but seldome enters this wish into the thoughts of Courtiers, who the elder they waxe in it, grow the more in love with it. For they know, when these starres fall from their Spheare, they not onely lose influence, and motion, but light also.

He was not suffered to taste the pleasures of solitude, he was made to know his absence prejudiced affaires, and that the generall Assembly of the States held then at Paris, was scandalized, thst a man was taken from the sonne, who had so well served the father.

Honest men said, the safety of

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the vessell was doubtfull, since good Pilots were not secure: what assurance is there in such confusions? And who will intermeddle in a state, where *Aristides* is wronged, *Socrates* is condemned, and *Aristotle* feares to abide?

HE returned at the Queens first command, protesting he would never be the caule of hindering the Kings service, & that the resentment of an injury, tooke not from him the sense of duty. He said, *The servant was not well advised, who retired upon his Masters anger.*

He returned then, but brought not backe with him, that first reputation, and stayed long, until his patience had gnawne upon that, which his courage was to devoure, being sometimes preceded by those, who heretofore would have thought it an honour to follow him: but it being very hard to forgoe men so necessary,

cessary, the Queen sent him to Creil, and to Clermont, when the second motions began to stirre, and thence to Guyen.

IT is not fit to let a great understanding, born for action, to rest; and old age exacteth a thing unjust, when it makes him retire from attendance on the Prince, but if he be not permitted to repose at threescore and thirteen, nor is dispensed with to goe a voyage of two hundred leagues through the most scorching heats, among feares of surprizes, and designes of enemies, and to return from it, through extreme and insupportable colds, I know not at what age one should sacrifice to repose.

Having the last yeare made the voyage of Poitou & Bretaigne, his great yeares, and indispositions ought to have excused him; but the occasion was too fayre, the journey too honourable, the service too necessary, to free a man

man from it, who said the servant should not aske whither he was sent, contenting himselfe with the honor of the command, and to obey; for he cannot be ill accommodated, if his master be well served.

These long journeys have difficulties, from which the greatest, who finde accommodation every where, free not themselves, and those which are but sport and pleasure to the young, are insupportable to the aged.

For this it was, why Budaeus, whom Francis the first made one of his *Secretaries*, to oblige him to follow him, and assist him to drive away ignorance and barbarisme, termed the Court-life, a life irkesome, insolent, and embroyled. I have often revolved in my minde in those his journeys, that excellent and learned Latine Letter he wrote to his sonne, to excuse him with his friends for not publishing a volume

lame of his Letters. Behold here the summe of it. I cannot intend it, not so much for the hinderance of affairs, as for the sundry disturbances of Court, and the strange enforcement of often changing place. How many times think you, for these fifteen dayes, have I had opportunity to sit, either to write, or read, in base, streight lodgings, and where one sees not at all, especially when all the rabble comes about one.

I doe nothing but runne up and down. It is more than a mile from the place where the King lyes, to my lodging, if it may be called a lodging, to be in the same Chamber pellmell among Peasants, their poultrey, and all things fed in the base Court, neare unto my horses, and unto Cockes distinguisheing the night-watches.

I am besides, constrained to goe to the first Table I finde, and needs must I, (as it happens, and as Court chances are unexpected)

p. 11

play the smell-feast. The Victualing houses being not still prepared, nor fit for honest men, we are enforced to retire into Cottages, where the raine comes in on every side, and where there is no household stuffe, but such as the Cyrenians had.

If Budens, one of the rarest men of his time, who brought Athens to Paris, and who was master of the Requests; in a time when there was but eight, suffered all this, a man must be very nice to complaine of the condition of his attendance at Court.

T H E first overtures to end the warre being made at Bourdeaux by his dexterity, he was employed to Poictiers, to make the truce; he went from Tours to Loudun to treat of the peace there. A negotiation, the most rugged, and difficult which was ever brought upon the Carpet, both for the diversity of interests, and the multitude of interested.

A

A Marshall of France preceded him in this Embassage, two Lords of the Council assisted him. All his Discourses were lessons, and Commentaries to enlighten the most doubtfull occurrenties. The prayse-worthy curiositie of one hath observed, and written what he said in conferences both publicke and familiar, and the collection he made, containeth matters so rare, and singular, that not to mention it, would wrong the History.

Returning from London to Tours, to shew unto the Queen, the thornes which choked the treaty, he forbare not to tell her, the Princes complained, that the King had no better notice of affaires; and speaking to his Majesty, he laid, it was time he should take the care of them, and prefer *the most important before the least serious*, adding, that when Kings neglect their own affaires, there are still sometound, who disturb them.

them, by undertaking to do them

This was a spark, which falling into his Royall soule, enkindled a resolution in him to be, that, for which God had created him. *It is impossible for a Prince to do all, and shamefull for him to doe nothing.* The high Chamberlaine of the Persian King, drawing aside the Curtaine laid, *Rise (Sir)* and give order in those affaires, which God hath committed to you.

The History judiciously observeth the morning: for it is not to be watchfull in affaires to come to them in the evening.

*Vigilancy and Royalty are born together. It is the eye on the Egyptian Scepter.*

Is it possible an eye can sleepe on the top of a Truncheon, or on the poynt of a launce? Princes and Ministers of state (as stars) must watch for those that sleep, & to make themselves capable of their affaires, they must often speake of them, and to more than one,

one, that they engage not the safety of many to the judgement of one man, as Alexander Seversus consulted with Captains in enterprizes; with Judges in matter of punishments and rewards; with learned men concerning examples to be followed, or eschewed; and with Priests in affaires of Religion.

V V E R E the contentments which the Court affordeth perfectly pure, and not embroyled with envy, suspitions, and anxieties, those of Villeroy after the Treatie of Loudun, would have been most absolute, having ended a miserable warre, which good and rationall men, even wth commiseration detested. All warre ought to be accounted for the sicknesse and malady, & peace for the true constitution, and wholesome temperature of a state. A Prince commits no leſſe an errour in letting ſlip the occaſion of a ſure, and honourable peace, than

than by precipitating himſelfe rashly, and imprudently into an unjust warre.

But he having in the treaty of Loudun, more conſidered publicke interest, than particular, ſaw himſelfe in ſuch diſ-favour, that he was constrained to ſuffer his charges to be diſpoſed of, as they pleased. He in this precipice reteined his ordinary conſtanty, as Colouſſes, though thrown into a ditch, loſe not their greatneſſe.

He conſecrated the houres to piety, which he had heretofore employed in affaires, and men wondred to ſee him give eare to Sermons at the ſame time, when our Kings formerly took delight to hearken to him. Heretofore he ſought for God at Court, he now findes him in retirement. One cannot be at the ſame time in Babylon, and Ierusalem, and he who is in That, muſt ever have the window of his ſoule open towards This.

After

After this memorable time, which put the vessels into the port of a perfect tranquility, that had too long floated on the Anchor, in an instant Armes were seen to fall out of the Princes hands, and the designes of a third faction to be stopped. The King presently advertised him of it, he caused him to come to *Louvre*, and as it were, casting himselfe between his armes, put upon him the whole care of his affairs and state.

He shewed him the letters he had prepared, and which were all ready upon this occasion to be sent to the Governours of Provinces; he approved them. They were the lines of a good pen, and a brave spirit, who preferring fidelity due to his King and Country, before any other obligation, had two yeares together wisely and couragiously managed a great part of this great and dangerous designe.

Auncient

Auncient ministers of state were taken off from affaires, or rather affaires were bereaved of their good direction, and the three principall offices of state were strayed, and dissolved into one man, the first counsell which *Villeroy* gave the King, was, to restore them to their charges, re-establish the former order.

The King rejoiced at the returne of *Monsieur* the Chancellour, as he had deplored his departure, and frequent teares, which fel from the Queens eyes, when he took leave of her at *Blois*, shewed the violence which her soule had suffered to consent to this change. The Lord Keeper of the Seales, who had more freely yeelded them up, than accepted them again, received them the second time from the Kings hand, who praysed his vertue and justice, not unlike to *Euphrates*, which never alters his course for the opposition of the

the highest mountains. The superintendent of Finances continued his charge with the same integrity, but with much more power than before. The Controllership generall of Finances was given him, whom Henry the Great had entrusted with it, and who had so much sincerity, loyalty, & honour in this charge, that wishes cannot add to the contentment, which the publicke, & his conscience gave him.

HE went to the Assembly of Roan, and carried thither good thoughts, and wholesome counsels for the service of the King, and good of the state, not hiding his dislike, to see that after this great Crisis, the malady was not wholly taken away. He made this journey upon condition, he at his returne, might thinke no more but on the greatest, and to forsake the toyles of Court and noyle of the City. Amongst the many Temples which Rome

raised to its fabulous Deities, that, of Repose was in the Country. Writing to his sonne, the governour of Lyons, he wished him to doe his busynesse in the morning, as if he were sure to lose it in the evening.

HIS most sensible contentments appeared in the marriage of the Marquesse Villeroi, his grand-childe, with the daughter of Monsieur Crequies grand-child, the brave Marshall, the Demetrius of his time, who at the age of threescore and eighteen, affrighted Lombardy. He recommended nothing so much to this young Lord, as the Kings service, thinking this command comprehended all other.

Obey the King, is to perform the principall poynt of the Law; For who giveth not to Caesar what belongs to Caesar, is always slacke in his duty towards God. This is a precept, which the Nobility of France should night and

Ce day

day study; It is the gold which the Oracle advised should be hanged at the eares of the Lydi-an youth.

The rules which a great man of this kingdome gave lately to his sonne (an officer of the Crowne) for his better direction, are good for all those, who will walke in innocency before heaven, and in honour on earth. I account these the most certaine: Render your selfe obedient, and at hand neare the King at the houres you shall think to be most acceptable to him, conforme your will to his, seek for what he affecteth, make it your principall delight to please him, and to gaine his good favour. To thinke to make your selfe more esteemed by great expence, than by vertue, and frugality is an abuse: yea verily, a folly. All the Philosophers of the University, and of experience, cannot furnish you with better precepts, either to make, or maintaine a fortune in Court.

Pre-

**P R E S E N T L Y** af-  
ter the beginning of the assem-  
bly, death violently assailed Vi-  
lleroy, but it surprized him not:  
for he long before was prepared  
for that day, the last of age, and  
first of Eternity, and had seen all  
that, to dye before him, which  
disturbeth the contentment of a  
sweet death. There are none; but  
such as are well prepared to dye,  
who goe joyfully, and constant-  
ly towards death.

The violence therof lasted but  
twice soure and twenty hours, it  
nothing at all taking away the  
strength of his judgement, nor  
vigour of his patience, sweetly  
breathing forth his last in the  
hope and thirst of eternall life,  
and in the testimonies of piety,  
which he so religiously had ma-  
nured all his life time. His body  
was opened to be embalmed, and  
carried to *Magny*, the place of  
buriall of his ancestors; there was  
no blood found in him, he having

Cc 2 made.

made his service continue to the last drop.

The King in words worthy the goodness of such a master, and the merit of such a servant, shewed he felt in his heart this losse, and the remembrance of what he dying, recommended unto him. The Prince who lootheth an ancient servant able to give him counsell without passion, and to tell him truth without flattery, is well assured of the felicity of his state, if his affaires be not sensible of such a losse.

### IN STANTLY

after Villeroy had yeilded up the Ghost, the Chauncellor, the Keeper of the Seales, Monsieur President Janin, who knew true amities goe beyond a tombe, said to the King, he could not better witness he had loved the father, then by affecting his

The King made his joye appear by sending a message to Monsieur de Halincourt, that as

bc

be, in Monsieur Villeroy had lost a good father, so he should in him ever finde a good Master. His letters next day after his death, on the thirteenth of December, expressed the sorrow of his Majesty: It is a losse... (these are his words) which I particularly resent, not onely as acknowledging, and having tryed in divers occasions, together with his fidelity and affection the effects of the long experience he had acquired in the manage of my affaires, and how necessary, and profitable he was for me. There is no service so great which is not well requited with such words, and none can be found to be more excellent, for the honour of his Tombe. As it is an imprudence in all kinde of discourses to speake things superfluous, and from the purple, so it is a treachery to omit the necessary. I might account my selfe culpable both of the one and other, if I should forget that the

Cc 3 King

King by the like effects of his affection commanded Monsieur the Duke of Vendadour and Monsieur the Marshall De L'Esanguieres, to accord the difference between Monsieur D'Halscourt, and Monsieur De S. Chaumont, & that this difference was so incensed, that although the wils of men were well united in what concerned the service of his Majesty, and common safety, yet passion disuniteth the affections of many.

One, whom the King drew from his Councell of State to give him the superintendency of Indi-  
cature, and government of this Province, made an excellent remonstrance upon this.

*whose lively reasons, plumb'd  
with words as strong,  
Through generous souls (as ar-  
rowes.) passe along.*

That it may appeare that the Kings Subjects in such like divisions should not suffer their affections

actions and judgements to run after those interests, which appertaine not to them, but reserve them wholly, for the service of his Majesty, for publick necessities and their particular quiet; for all partialities finally conclude in seditions.

The name of Villeroy hath been so celebrated every where, that the memory therof shall eternally be much honoured. Cardinals never are present at Ceremonies of funerals, but for Princes, yet here five; Bervilacqua, Vicenza, Bonzi, Ubaldino, and Urfino were present at his obsequies, and funerall Sermon, learnedly and elegantly pronounced by a Jesuit in the Church of St. Lewis at Rome. The Archbishop of Lyons, who performed it so worthily, and who so well understands the Kings service, tooke upon him the care of this duty. There, Italian Ladies, many Lords, infinite other, French by birth,

birth, or affection were to be seen. Behold what I have observed upon the life of Monsieur Villeroy, that every one may make an estimate of his merits and services. I was bound unto it, being unable to forget the account he made of my writings, the good liking he delivered of them to Henry the Great, the paines he pleased to take; not to see, and slightly overooke them (for every one can do so;) but to correct them, which none could do so well. I, in this have often found, that it is an incredible contentment to submit ones labours to a great and sincere judgment: For if he like them, others are not to be feared, if he approve them not, one will strive to do better. I desired the one more than the other. For approbation is very pleasing, but correction more profitable. I wish the gratitude of my duty may in this appear: for it is a kinde of ingratitude

ritude to tell, but to few, the good we have received from any one.

The King wanteth not worthy men to supply this place, and France in the production of brave spirits, is the golden branch of Sybilla, which loosing one leafe, thrusts out another; but there goeth much time to make up a man of such experience; besides, it is an incomparable helpe to have been under the discipline of Henry the Great, and to have observed, that he proposed, what he would resolve, and put in execution what he had resolved on.

THE prosperity we enjoyed in the first yeares of his reigne, were likewise the effects of the great prudence and magnanimitie of this Prince, who had in the calme foreseen from whence the storme might come, and how to divert it. It had perhaps continued longer, had the like order been still observed, and those who have observed the

difference of times and events, have compared the advices of this great King, to the city of Athens, whose climate was so temperate, that in what part of the world soever one were, he had cause to be sorry, he enjoyed not so sweet, & wholesome an abode

**T H E** losse of a good servant is not easily repaired, whole Ages are necessary to make Villeroys. *Augustus* lost two, which he never found againe among so many millions of men in his Empire. His legions were as soone made up, as dissolved: The sea saw new fleets, where it had swallowed up the old: Buildings rise from out of their ruines, more pompous and splendid than they were; but all the time of his reign he was heard to bewayle *Agrippa*, and *Mecenas*, finding not any worthy to supply their places.

I am deceived; The losse of a good servant is in some sort repaired, when his counsels are fol-

followed, and the Maximes are observed, which his long experience authorized, as infallible principles of verity. It is not to desire a slight happiness to the state, to wish that Monsieur Villeroys were always in employment by his good advice, since divine providence permitteth not him to be personally therin, and that it principally consisteth in the observation of that wholesome counsell which he alwaies gave his masters: To prevent commotions, and not to neglect light faults, lest they draw on great. The first examples of justice & the first acts of revenge, are the best, and such as fall upon the authors of sedition, destroy it. *Pbalaris* did onely one act of justice by shutting him in the brazen Bull, who invented it.

**B V T** it is enough: the rest is in the History, I have but this one thing to say. I must after an excellent and free discourse publisht

lished at Roan in the beginning  
of the assembly, affirme, that  
*Monsieur Villeroy* was the first  
mover of state-affaires, the mira-  
cle of Prudence, and Wisedome,  
the Sphere from whence those  
brave spirits descended, which  
received the Kings commands;  
And in a word, the Archimedes  
who made all Europe move; and  
who as Archimedes breathed out  
his last, over his figures, and dy-  
ed in great and sublime medita-  
tions for the glory of this Crown,  
and the reformation of disorders.

The end.